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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2048

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**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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BULGARIA

FOREIGN MINISTER MLADENOV PAYS TRIBUTE TO LYUDMILA ZHIVKOVA

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Jul 82 p 2

[Speech by Petur Mladenov: "True Daughter of Her People and Her Time"]

[Text] Dear comrades:

An impressive cause and a precious name have assembled us here -- the cause and name of the unforgettable Lyudmila Zhivkova. Today, on the 40th anniversary of her birth, we have come to the ringing bells which were brought here from all parts of the world as one of the most touching and challenging expressions of contemporary humanism and peace -- the Banner of Peace International Assembly, which Lyudmila Zhivkova inspired, started and organized.

Here, from the bas-relief we are inaugurating today, her captivating image will shine -- the image of a remarkable builder of new socialist Bulgaria, noted member of the April generation of party and state leaders, talented scientist and beautiful person. Lyudmila Zhivkova's greatly endowed, vivid, rich and purposeful personality has left a lasting mark in all areas toward which her indomitable energy and tireless seeking spirit were directed.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was a true child of her time. She grew up in the turmoil of our dynamic socialist development, in the struggle for building a communist future and in the strive toward a just and harmonious world of which the greatest and noblest minds of our people, of all mankind, dreamed.

Born and raised in the family of remarkable revolutionaries, from an early age Lyudmila Zhivkova grew up with the ideas of communism, the example of revolutionary exploits and readiness for self-sacrifice. Her application to join the party reads: "I was raised in a family of active communists. The entire lives of my mother Mara Khristova Maleeva and my father Todor Khristov Zhivkov have been part of the struggles of the Bulgarian Communist Party." As a child Lyudmila Zhivkova adopted her parents' maxim for happiness: To serve one's people and party with one's entire dedication and strength. This is the most difficult yet the highest grade of happiness!

Our new socialist school, Pioneer organization and Dimitrov Komsomol played a great role in shaping her personality. In secondary school and as student at the Kliment Okhradiski University in Sofia, Lyudmila Zhivkova mastered the broadest possible range of knowledge. She plunged into the attractive world

of science and art and sought and found the directions and areas of creative work through which she could reach her full self-realization.

Very quickly she developed as a scientist, theoretician and researcher in history and art.

As a party and state leader she worked with scope, purposefully and profitably for our most cherished ideals. No time perspective is required to realize that Lyudmila Zhivkova's tempestuous activities were closely linked to the profound renovative historical processes and phenomena in the development of our socialist society. Wherever she worked -- as senior scientific associate at the Institute of Balkan Studies, deputy chairman and chairman of the Committee for Culture, member of the Council of Ministers Bureau, people's representative, BCP Central Committee member and youngest member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of its Commission on Science, Culture and Education -- she displayed her great qualities as a person and scientist, and the breath of her scope and daring as leader of the great Leninist school.

Her contribution as a politician, public figure and statesman was priceless. There was no single significant national project during the last decade in which she did not participate with the full zeal of her youth and the wisdom of her maturity. She contributed tremendously not only to the formulation of the overall plans for our socioeconomic and cultural development but to the tense daily efforts for their practical implementation.

She was profoundly familiar with and valued and popularized the historical experience of the nation and skillfully made it part of the fabric of our present and our future. She sought and found new ways and new solutions. She was able to inspire and encourage the most lively and talented minds of the nation in their implementation.

Her infinite love for the people, for mankind, was specific and effective. It was manifested in numerous initiatives related to the struggle for peace, the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and the salvation of civilization. These were precisely the activities which met with the strongest international response and broadest possible international recognition.

Her spirit recognized no time and space barriers. It encompassed the past, the present and the future, the entire earth, and left us with insights which will be appreciated in the future as well.

Comrades:

Lyudmila Zhivkova's creative life as a scientist, public figure and statesman began as a history student at Sofia University and continued later, when she specialized in art history at Moscow University and in English history. She eagerly absorbed and acquired the wisdom of the ages, the daring of the fighters for freedom and social justice and the cultural achievements of human civilization. Having acquired solid professional training at home and abroad, within an amazingly short time she proved to be a talented, erudite and productive scientist with a wide range of research interests. The scope

of her analytical and research interests ranged from diplomacy in the first half of the 20th century to the cultural masterpieces of medieval Bulgaria and ancient Thracian culture. She is the author of the original scientific works "Anglo-Turkish Relations, 1933-1939," "On Perfecting Man and Society," "The Kazanluk Tomb," "Tsar Ivan Aleksandur's New Testament," "By the Laws of Beauty," "A Land Known as Bulgaria," and others. They were published both at home and abroad and earned the high praise and recognition of the most prestigious Bulgarian and foreign scientists.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's scientific work is a major contribution to Marxist-Leninist social science and the spiritual treasury of Bulgaria and mankind. In international scientific conferences and congresses she skillfully and convincingly defended the gains and prestige of Bulgarian science. The first international congress on Bulgarian studies -- a most impressive scientific forum dedicated to the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state -- was organized and held under her personal supervision.

Her great interest in history was not due to self-seeking curiosity or a natural need to know. Nothing of the kind! Her inspired philosophical formula of making historical knowledge to serve the present and the future, was that past, present and future were one. The binding link in this triad is tradition, the continuity of everything valuable and progressive achieved in the past, which must be jealously preserved, enriched and developed further. Some of her exceptionally valuable works were on this subject -- reports, articles and speeches, which armed our theory with innovative ideas and interpretations based on a creative class-party Marxist-Leninist analysis.

She studied the Bulgarian historiocultural heritage as the complex synthesis of civilization and as the dynamic interaction of different cultures. She considered the Bulgarian lands the geographic and spiritual crossroads of men and ideas, creativeness and achievements. She saw in the Bulgarian ability to master the most valuable cultural accomplishments of other nations by reshaping and reinterpreting them one of the manifestations of the creative genius, strength and vitality of the nation which had withstood the trials of the centuries and the dramatic vicissitudes of fate. Lyudmila Zhivkova sought the true values of original Bulgarian culture and its real contribution to the progress of mankind. She rejected any manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and national nihilism. She defended the Bulgarian socio-cultural heritage and encouraged intensive cultural contacts and cooperation among nations based on friendship, equality and reciprocity. She laid a path to a new unity, a unity between the national and the universal, in the course of which they become reciprocally enriched and ennobled.

The celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state was dominated by these noble ideas. Lyudmila Zhivkova was the heart and the mind of this initiative of unusual nature and scope. Under her personal guidance the celebration became a powerful spiritual impulse which inspired our people to constructive accomplishments crowning the April upsurge of Bulgaria -- the peak of its centuries-old existence.

Lyudmila Zhivkova contributed an exceptional deal to make this celebration the beginning of a new stage in the study and dissemination of the

contribution made by the Bulgarian people to the world treasury and a school for class-party, patriotic and international education.

Comrades:

Infinitely loyal to the ideals of communism, possessing a rich and varied culture and lofty moral values, Lyudmila Zhivkova earned the reputation of noted builder of Bulgarian socialist culture and talented leader on our ideological and cultural front.

The comprehensive upsurge of our socialist culture in the 1970s will remain forever linked with Lyudmila Zhivkova's name and work. Her innovative approach and creative aspiration contributed to the further elaboration and implementation of the party's Leninist April cultural policy, whose greatest success is the organic combination of the socialist ideas and principles with the increasingly broader development of the people's, the individual's creative forces and talents. The fresh creative climate in the society's spiritual activities, the reciprocal respect and trust between the party and the people's intelligentsia, the unity between all generations of creative and cultural workers and their active participation in the implementation of the April cultural policy are our precious gain. This precious gain encompasses Lyudmila Zhivkova's spirit, ideas and accomplishments.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's Marxist-Leninist innovative participation as an innovator in the specific elaboration and practical implementation of the basic directions and tasks of contemporary culture and in enhancing its role in the communist upbringing of the working people and the youth was impressive. Her approach to contemporary culture and work for its development, mainly with a view to shaping the new man as an integral and harmonious socialist personality and as the member of the communist society -- the most progressive, most beautiful and most humane society -- was based on the BCP's programmatic stipulation "Everything in the Name of Man, Everything for the Good of Man."

Lyudmila Zhivkova considered esthetic education an inseparable aspect of communist education. She took a most active part in the elaboration and successful implementation of the comprehensive program for nationwide esthetic education and the long-range comprehensive program for enhancing the role of art and culture in the harmonious development of the individual and society under the circumstances of building mature socialism.

As chairman of the Council of Chairmen of Creative Associations, Lyudmila Zhivkova contributed to the unification the artistic and creative intelligentsia on the basis of an inviolable ideological, class-party and national foundation and to the Marxist-Leninist and professional growth of all creative workers, the young talents in particular.

She displayed an innovative approach in the implementation of the party's decisions on improving the educational system. At the First Public Education Congress Lyudmila Zhivkova substantiated the concept of the role of education in a developed socialist society and its further reorganization in order to implement the party's strategic stipulations on raising and educating the young generation and the unity between education and culture.

Lyudmila Zhivkova deserves exceptional credit for her creative elaboration and pursuit of the April cultural policy during the the further reorganization of the management of cultural processes. She substantiated theoretically the new stage in the development of the socio-state principle, which is a true discovery made by our party in the development and improvement of a profoundly democratic system in the management of spiritual culture. Based on the stipulations of the the 10th, 11th and 12th BCP Congresses, Lyudmila Zhivkova consistently defended the innovative idea of organically blending the socio-state principle with the program-target, comprehensive multiplication approach to the management of culture. The principles governing the functions, structure and mechanisms of the "Artistic Creativity, Cultural Activities and Mass Information Media" national complex were formulated under her guidance and close personal participation. This new form of management yielded positive results in resolving the major problems with socioeconomic development raised on the cultural front. We proudly say that her accomplishments in the development of the culture of the developed socialist society are a valuable contribution to the ideological treasury the the BCP and to Marxist-Leninist theory.

In general, Lyudmila Zhivkova's entire comprehensive and rich activities as a leader on the cultural front were innovative, fruitful and promising.

They were innovative because she developed original ideas, initiatives and solutions, while observing the progressive traditions in the development of Bulgarian culture, guided by the April cultural policy of the BCP and taking into consideration the specific spiritual requirements of the present.

They were fruitful because as a result of such initiatives culture became more democratic, the competence of the leadership on the cultural front increased, a movement for nationwide esthetic education arose and developed, the forms of cultural and ideological influence of the individual became richer and more varied, and the international prestige of Bulgarian culture was enhanced.

They were promising because all of her major initiatives were of lasting value and gained an increasing number of supporters in Bulgaria and abroad.

Comrades:

Lyudmila Zhivkova's accomplishments are inseparable from the shaping and implementation of the April foreign policy course of the BCP during the last decade, and the intensifying role played by our country in the struggle of the peoples for peace, independence, democracy and social progress. She deserves unquestionable credit for popularizing the achievements of Bulgarian culture and expanding and enriching spiritual contacts among nations as a prerequisite for acquaintanceship, friendship and cooperation. In a unique way Lyudmila Zhivkova combined zealous socialist patriotism with consistent internationalism. She was a tireless promoter of the victorious development of the world revolutionary process, the unity and cohesion among communist and workers parties, the strengthened friendship among socialist countries, the just cause of the peoples fighting for social and national liberation and the unification of progressive forces under the pure banner of peace.

Most of all, Lyudmila Zhivkova zealously worked on strengthening the life-bringing Bulgarian-Soviet friendship. She did a great deal to publicize Soviet successes in Bulgaria, and Bulgarian successes in the USSR, and for the development of fruitful Bulgarian-Soviet cultural cooperation. Let us mention the Vladimir Il'ich Lenin part of the long-term program on great harmoniously developed personalities, drafted under her guidance and implemented with her active participation. She emphasized that the path followed by our two fraternal peoples is one, and that they will always remain, as she said, "side by side, shoulder to shoulder and heart to heart." She studied Soviet experience profoundly, applied it creatively in our country and actively participated in the creation and work of the interdepartmental Bulgarian-Soviet commission for cultural cooperation. She was loved and highly valued by the Soviet leaders, the makers of Soviet culture and the ordinary Soviet people. In expressing these bright feelings, Comrade Petr Demichev said that "The strengthening of Bulgarian-Soviet friendship became the truly sacred and great project of our peoples, and of the CPSU and the BCP. We shall never forget Lyudmila Zhivkova's contribution to this cause."

Lyudmila Zhivkova invested her heart and soul in broadening our cooperation with the other members of the socialist comity as well, in increasing reciprocal familiarity and the rapprochement between their cultures and in disseminating the tremendous achievements of real socialism throughout the world. She became deservedly famous as an active fighter for peace, understanding and cooperation among all countries and peoples. She reacted to events at large, was happy for every victory won by progressive and peace loving forces and was torn by mankind's worry over the nuclear threat promoted throughout the world by the policies of the reactionary imperialist forces. That is why she dedicated so much of her physical and spiritual strength to the noble cause of strengthening peace and security in the world and the triumph of justice. Lyudmila Zhivkova visited various countries, personally participated and herself initiated major international projects in the interest of peace and progress. The doors of the UN and UNESCO, and the offices of party leaders, presidents, prime ministers and famous men of culture and the arts were hospitably open to her. She never missed an opportunity to promote the cause of peace and international understanding and to spread the truth about real socialism. Lyudmila Zhivkova had the rare gift of conversing calmly, wisely and tactfully and persuading, attracting and rallying people of different classes, races and nationalities of different ideological positions in the name of the great and noble objectives of peace and social progress.

Her guiding principle was the idea that peace is a universal good the preservation of which requires the efforts of all nations and progressive forces and the use of intelligence and constructive dialogue. Lyudmila Zhivkova contributed to the development of broad mutually profitable relations with many countries and to the application of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. She worked inspiredly for understanding and cooperation in the Balkans and for the assertion of socialist Bulgaria as a constructive factor for peace and good neighborly relations in this part of the world.

How can we forget that it was precisely Lyudmila Zhivkova who launched major international initiatives which linked Bulgarian socialist culture with the

progressive culture of the world. She organized numerous exhibitions, concerts, meetings, etc., which offered to the world the wealth and refinement of ancient and modern Bulgarian culture. This enabled millions of people to become familiar with socialist Bulgaria, to talk about it and its achievements, and personally to experience the truth about our life, the life of real socialism.

The now traditional and highly prestigious international Sofia meetings of writers the world over under the slogan "Peace Is the Hope of the Planet" are her work.

It was also she who launched a number of initiatives on the protection of children, the defense of their interests, the use of new opportunities and resources for the sake of the growing generations and the discovery and encouragement of the gifts and talents of the young.

Lyudmila Zhivkova encouraged the steady enhancement of the role of women as full and active participants in building the new world and the comprehensive realization of their abilities in all areas of social development. She firmly believed that more than ever before today mothers have the sacred duty to be the protectors of childhood, peace, beauty and life.

As the head of the Bulgarian delegation to the 34th UN General Assembly, Lyudmila Zhivkova spoke about the consistent policy of peace, good neighbourly relations and cooperation of the Bulgarian People's Republic. This was followed by her remarkable speech "In the Name of the Children on the Planet" and the initiative of organizing international meetings of heads of national commissions on the occasion of the International Year of the Child.

She was the author of the wonderful idea of the Banner of Peace Assembly to which she gave inspiration, meaning and scale. Combining the most profound aspirations of mankind -- the safeguard of peace, care for children and the desire of the people for cooperation, freedom, social justice, creative development and progress -- the Banner of Peace proves the deeply humane nature of socialist Bulgaria's ideology and politics, a Bulgaria whose daughter she was. The very essence of the Banner of Peace Assembly is a manifestation of faith in the infinite opportunities for man's creative development and his thrust toward the future, which can and must be built according to the laws of beauty. The "Unity, Creativity, Beauty" appeal, which Lyudmila Zhivkova drafted, is a rallying call appealing to the conscience of mankind and its responsibility to the future, a future of peace and happiness.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's rich and comprehensive international activities won socialist Bulgaria many friends in all continents and was of great importance in enhancing the prestige of the homeland as a country steadfastly marching in the leading ranks of world progress and in the struggle for peace, a country whose people -- united and cohesive -- are enthusiastically building a developed socialist society. Her activities also enhanced her own prestige as a worthy leader of Bulgarian culture and a creative worker in the vanguard of global cultural progress.

The profound regard and great respect which Lyudmila Zhivkova enjoyed were manifested in the establishment of an international foundation named after her. Noted statesmen, public figures and men of culture from different countries willingly agreed to participate in the implementation of initiatives which would perpetuate and continue her noble accomplishments. The Dimitrov Prize she was awarded posthumously for activities in the support of peace, democracy and social progress throughout the world was an expression of the regards and respect for her on the part of our people and other nations.

Dear comrades:

Lyudmila Zhivkova was not only a great scientist, politician and leader. Above all she was a great person with a clear mind and generous spirit, with high human values. We can also say that she was a great scientist, politician and leader because she was a great person. We remember and will remember her as impeccably honest, principle-minded and exigent, sharing herself with others and advancing with dizzying speed toward the communist future. She was charming. She had the wonderful gift of communicating, pointing out the new, delicately guiding and persuading, uniting and inspiring and leading not by ordering but by acting, choosing for herself the most difficult tasks which others could not bear. Her work stamina was amazing. Her working day extended to 15 hours or even more sometimes. When occasionally we pointed out to her in a comradely way that that was wrong, that she should also rest, she smilingly answered, "What is one to do, human life is so short and there are so many more things to be done."

Lyudmila Zhivkova loved people. She lived with their joys and pains, their aspirations and their emotions. Every day dozens of people came to her with their problems or personal requests, seeking aid or advice. She saw and listened to them sympathized with them, advised and guided them and mercilessly fought those who were indifferent to the fate of others.

Lyudmila Zhivkova was a loyal and reliable friend. Perhaps all of us will remember her with her hand stretched out, delicate and weak but so very strong with the spirit which was concealed in her frail body.

Like all real thinking and acting people Lyudmila Zhivkova was modest in her work and private life. False glitter and noisy stir were profoundly alien to her. She was a loving and caring mother, familiar with the parental concerns and joys which have always been part of the life of Bulgarian women.

Today, one year after her death, we can say that Lyudmila Zhivkova, although so very young, was a complete, gifted and comprehensively developed person. Everything she did was for the sake of man, for the good and happiness of the people. That is why the people presented her with their greatest award -- respect, gratitude and sincere love.

Comrades:

It is not the heroes who chose their age but the age which chooses and creates its heroes. Lyudmila Zhivkova became the heroine of our socialist

time. The trends and requirements governing the development of real socialism became highly synthesized in her ideas and accomplishments.

Lyudmila Zhivkova's deeply humanistic cause, imbued with love of peace and passionate aspiration for contacts among the peoples, has both national and international dimensions.

In her footsteps we must further develop and enrich her cause and remain loyal to its innovative spirit. This means to work with her energy, dedication and determination in fulfilling the decisions of the 12th BCP Congress on building a socialist society, the even greater blossoming of science, culture and education and the glory of our socialist homeland.

Yes, the greatest virtues of the Bulgarian character hammered out in the course of the age-old struggles for freedom, happiness and social progress were combined in her character, although some of them were probably those of the people of our communist future alone. That is what makes her personality so attractive to the young of socialist Bulgaria, who thirst for inspiring examples and want to dedicated themselves to lofty objectives and ideals.

Only 20 days separate us from the second international Banner of Peace Assembly which will open in Sofia. Once again young people from all parts of the globe will come to this monument to express their desire to live in conditions of unity, creativity and beauty, which also means to live in peace. That is precisely why Lyudmila Zhivkova's appeal addressed to the first international Banner of Peace Assembly will sound even more urgent: "The world must no longer live with the horrors of war; mothers should no longer wait for children who will never return; millions of your brothers and sisters, who live with the burden of hunger and exploitation and class, racial and social hatred and injustice must never anymore die before even learning how to write the precious words 'mother' and 'freedom'."

These words are consistent with the appeals of the millions of fighters for peace throughout the earth, who are marching and demonstrating against the arms race, nuclear death and nuclear catastrophe and are demanding a world without wars, a world in which the peoples will develop freely and society and every single individual will advance.

It was for such a world that Lyudmila Zhivkova, our precious, lamented and unforgettable Mila, dreamed, lived, struggled and burned out.

Comrades:

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the National Assembly, the State Council and the Council of Ministers I hereby inaugurate Lyudmila Zhivkova's bas relief.

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GDR'S EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES EXAMINED

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 15 No 6, Jun 82 (signed to press 21 May 82) pp 605-613

[‘Analyses and Reports’ feature article by Dr Hans-Joachim Fischer, adjunct lecturer, academic counselor for pedagogy, Oldenburg University: “ABC and Multiplication Table—Weapons in the Class Struggle: On the GDR’S Pedagogical Work in Developing Countries”]

[Text] Although the 1980 Mozambique visit of GDR Public Education Minister Margot Honecker was hardly registered in this country, the second trip to Africa in 1982 to expand departmental cooperation, undertaken by the education minister in January, when she travelled to Ethiopia and Angola, stopping on the way in the People’s Republic of Yemen,<sup>1</sup> remained unnoticed even in the narrow specialized FRG literature. So far neither the comparative pedagogy nor the pedagogical GDR-research in the FRG have taken up and discussed the field of GDR international pedagogical relations and the special area of teaching work abroad.<sup>2</sup>

Aside from the wider work in international pedagogical relations conceived as an attempt at an overview, as well as some publications on GDR foreign cultural policy only peripherally including aspects of GDR foreign pedagogical work, currently there is a complete lack of more extensive explanations and critical analyses.<sup>3</sup>

Foreign Pedagogical Work: Clarification of Terms--Regarding Contents

In regard to both the specialized term “GDR international pedagogic relations and foreign pedagogic work” and the contents and subject delineation, here we want only to summarize the definitions provided by us elsewhere:

Included in the broad field “GDR international pedagogic relations” are not only cooperation with the socialist-communist countries, pedagogic relations with the “Western” states and developing countries and general pedagogic contacts abroad, but also the educational program for foreigners, international pedagogic vacation courses and the wide spectrum of international encounters in the GDR (conferences, meetings, seminars, etc.) that in the broadest sense are pedagogically oriented. The term “foreign pedagogic work,” on the other hand, includes only GDR pedagogic activities in developing countries.

In the interest of clarity, the term "GDR foreign school work" is avoided, because in the FRG concept of school policy and pedagogics this designation is associated with the existence of the institution "foreign school." The GDR, however, does not have foreign schools comparable with those institutions receiving FRG support in financing, personnel and supplies. Nevertheless, for more than 20 years the GDR has been carrying out foreign pedagogic work in developing countries that is determined by foreign policy considerations and based on the intentions of foreign educational policy; this work covers the total of that area that can be included under educational planning/ educational assistance/instruction aids.

The foreign assignment of GDR teachers occurs either on the basis of existing cooperative agreements at universities and schools primarily in German foreign language instruction or in German language qualifying programs and courses for teachers' continuing education abroad in socialist countries. It also occurs in the framework of bilateral agreements in the sense of educational help/instruction aids or in the function of experts in the areas of educational administration or at cultural centers and comparable GDR installations in developing countries (foreign pedagogic work). The GDR foreign pedagogic work must thereby be seen as part of its cooperation with developing countries in the educational sector, which merely flanks the broad and differentiated system for training, continuing education and consultation for officials in public education, school directors and teachers from developing countries at universities, teachers colleges and vocational schools, as well as institutions for qualifying leading cadre directly in the GDR.<sup>4</sup> The qualification system in the GDR and the pedagogic work abroad as a unit form that potential that in the last decade has made possible the systematic increase in its influence on the development of education and curricular decisions in a number of African countries in particular.

Principal Addressee:

"Socialistically Oriented" Developing Countries

Political, economic and socio-cultural conditions in the so-called socialistically oriented developing countries made their "turning to real socialism objectively necessary" and obligated the socialist states, according to the scope of the GDR ideological justification for foreign pedagogic work in these countries, to "pass on their collective total experiences," that in the GDR as well have been collected in the "dialectical association of educational questions with the goals, contents and requirements of the coming generation's future revolutionary activity."<sup>5</sup> Although it is recognized that the claim to leadership and the consolidation of cadre parties with a Marxist-Leninist orientation in the "nationally liberated countries with a progressive development" are not without problems under the conditions of the dominant role of nonproletarian forces in the social structure, they are unanimously conceded the vanguard position in the progressive development of society. From this point of view one established the construct of a "real chance to solve the general problems of democracy in a national-democratic revolution by way of a socialist orientation."<sup>6</sup> Through anti-imperialist identity of interests and the common social goals

of socialist states and "nationally liberated countries with a progressive development" there is "social development increasingly on the basis of identical ideological positions."<sup>8</sup> From the GDR point of view there is an "objectively new quality in relations,"<sup>8</sup> as is seen in the friendship pacts signed by it in 1979 with Angola, Mozambique, South Yemen (People's Republic of Yemen) and Ethiopia.

In recent years these countries have doubtless been more strongly oriented toward Marxist-Leninist education, as demonstrated by, among other things, their solid participation at the 1981 East Berlin fall conference of the socialist-communist education ministers ("Fourth Conference of Public Education Ministers of Socialist Countries"). In GDR cooperation elements involving ideology, educational policy, pedagogic and school organization add up to "assistance in solving basic educational policy and pedagogic functions, such as developing and carrying out new and socially relevant educational content and goals, elimination of illiteracy, establishing compulsory education, training a new generation of teachers, creating pedagogic research installations and establishing central control and planning of education."<sup>9</sup>

#### Beginnings or a Place at a Separate Table

In relation to GDR military policy activities and the increase in its weapons deliveries in third world countries, a TIME article<sup>10</sup>—"Here come Europe's Cubans. The Honecker regime offers 'brain rather than bodies'"--points out that the GDR has also been involved in the education sector in Africa since the end of the 1950's. On the whole it seems characteristic for the early GDR foreign pedagogic work in a number of Afro-Arab (among others Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia), Asian-Arab (among others Iraq and Syria) and sub-Saharan countries (among others the former Zanzibar, the former Congo-Brazzaville, Dahomey, Mali, Sudan, Ghana and Guinea) that almost from the beginning the GDR was able to embed these countries in direct ministerial agreements, often even on the basis of cultural agreements, despite the respect that they as third countries are expected to have for the interaction restrictions with the GDR imposed by the threat of FRG sanctions ("Hallstein-Doctrine")--no diplomatic relations, restraint in closing contracts requiring ratification.

Since the signing of the cultural agreement with Guinea in 1958, the first contractual agreement of this type with an African country, the pedagogic relations of the two countries have been maintained in a continuity not always characteristic of GDR scientific-cultural cooperation with developing countries. Discontinuity and interruptions in development in the area of foreign cultural policy led to irritations in many cases, and it is hardly surprising that without exception deficits are shown in the barely half dozen of GDR contributions through international pedagogic relations as a whole considered to be a constituent developmental characteristic in regard to their tendency for continuity. Unmentioned is the in part financially and materially costly involvement in education policy and pedagogics by the GDR in some Afro-Arab and sub-Saharan countries, an involvement that because of changed internal, military and geopolitical (Somalia) or foreign policy

constellations (revocation of the Soviet-Egyptian friendship pact by Egypt) was revised as a result of repressive decisions in the GDR and led to a short-term interruption of pedagogic cooperation as well.

#### Direction and Changes in Pedagogic Work Abroad: Example Egypt

The first ties between the GDR and Egypt in the area of education go back to the late 1950's. Following the establishment of contractually fixed agreements in the scientific-cultural area,<sup>11</sup> the GDR became involved in the planning and carrying out of mainly proposals with a practical orientation, ranging from general problems of the educational process through special questions involving polytechnical education and the relationship of schooling and occupational education to projects of vocational and adult education. Constantly expanded since 1967 was the group of GDR mathematics-natural science teachers, sports and vocational instructors, educational theoreticians and advisors in the education administration sector active in Egypt.

The signing of numerous interministerial agreements between 1967 and 1975 introduced direct GDR participation in Egyptian efforts to reform education with a series of spectacular projects: The signing of a protocol on the use of GDR teachers and determining material support (1967); cooperation in building a technical school in Cairo-Shubra (1970); an agreement between the Egyptian Education Ministry and the GDR Public Education Ministry on the construction of a model school in Cairo-Heliopolis as a "pilot facility for a future compulsory eight-class school providing general education," according to the Egyptian Education Ministry in 1972; and an agreement by both education ministries on the construction of another experimental school in Medinet Nasr (1975).

The quality and quantity of GDR foreign pedagogic work in Egypt during these years are put in the proper perspective when one establishes that up until the revision of the foreign cultural policy relative to Egypt the GDR involvement in educational policy and pedagogics and *sui generis* its influence on reform proposals in some areas of Egyptian education was without parallel not only in GDR foreign pedagogic work, but also in the whole of the relations of socialist-communist states with the developing countries in the education area from the 1960's through the mid-1970's.<sup>12</sup>

The consequences (closing of the GDR cultural centers in Cairo and Alexandria in 1977 by order of the Egyptian government and cessation of GDR foreign pedagogic work in Egypt and Somalia, among other places) resulting from the revocation of the Soviet-Egyptian friendship pact by Egypt, as well as through changes in the internal political sector or in the foreign policy orientation of Egypt and a number of other African countries caused the GDR to make in part rigorous corrections in foreign culture policy and foreign pedagogic determinations in the last half of the 1970's.

#### New Emphasis: Ethiopia and Sub-Saharan Africa

The closer pedagogic cooperation between the GDR and Ethiopia and countries of the sub-Saharan area apparent during the 1977 and 1978 was intensified in the following years on the basis of further departmental agreements.

Preceding the GDR pedagogic cooperation with Ethiopia was the addition of new positions in southern Africa as the result of a long-term foreign policy strategy conceived in the 1960's. Immediately after the formation of the young states in former Portuguese Africa as people's democracies, the GDR, thanks to its reputation as an "anti-imperialistic comrade-in-arms" of the Afro-Marxist revolutionary governments, was already able to extend its influence in these countries by means of a network of political, economic, scientific and cultural contracts and agreements.<sup>13</sup>

Included in the context of a systematic expansion in ideological-political, military, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations is the intensification of cooperation in all areas of education based on inter-ministerial understandings and several years of work protocols to the agreements on scientific and cultural cooperation with Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.<sup>14</sup> GDR pedagogic activities in these countries at the beginning of the 1980's are characterized by their broad spectrum, which embraces activity by lecturers in the institutes, instruction by GDR speciality teachers in the mathematics and natural sciences disciplines at secondary schools, and assistance in training and further education of teachers--both directly in the countries and more often in the GDR. The pedagogic activities also include cooperation in education planning and development of curricula and textbooks, extends to career training of youth in the framework of the use of Free German Youth [FDJ] "friendship brigades," and finally takes in some theoretical background and material support for literacy campaigns.<sup>15</sup>

A summary of selected activities in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau during the period from 1979 to 1981/1982 may serve to illustrate the objectives and intentions, contents and scope of recent GDR foreign pedagogic work<sup>16</sup>:

#### Ethiopia

--The signing of a contract for support of Ethiopian education by the GDR (October 1978). Activity by pedagogic scientists and teacher specialists from the GDR: 17 beginning in the fall of 1977, another 30 from the beginning of the 1979/1980 school year in teacher training and in developing curricula and textbooks.

--Planning of qualifying courses for school directors and school officials under the leadership of GDR lecturers directly in the country (January 1979).

--Assistance by scientists of the Institute for Tropical Agriculture of Karl Marx University in Leipzig in reorganizing university-level agricultural training (August 1979).

--Delivery of a contribution for the literacy campaign (June 1979); so-called solidarity parcels with teaching and learning materials, as well as school laboratory equipment (October 1979, March 1980); presentation of an extensive exhibition on the GDR education system in 14 administrative regions of the country. In accordance with what has been the customary GDR practice for

years, the exhibits--instruction material for classes 1 through 10, technical equipment and didactic aids--will be turned over as a gift of the government (November 1979); delivery of the complete equipment for physics instruction valued at 1 million marks (August 1980), of kindergarten furnishings (May 1981) and of teaching materials for university training (October 1981).

--Activity by GDR university teachers in mathematics and natural sciences disciplines at the University of Addis Ababa and on the agricultural and medical faculties (November 1979, September 1980).

--Activity by GDR instructors in the German department of the University of Addis Ababa on the basis of a cooperative contract of the Ethiopian university with the Karl Marx University in Leipzig and the Dresden Technical University (January 1981).<sup>17</sup>

#### Mozambique

--Agreement to send 30 GDR teachers to give instruction in mathematics and the natural sciences (November 1978) in secondary schools in the interior of the country (May 1979).

--Report on the first year of study at the school for training primary school teachers in Maputo, which through significant participation of GDR teachers underwent reform in the formulation of the course system and the contents of the teaching programs. (April 1979).

--Contributions of teaching materials for schools providing general education (November 1979 and for the country's schools for the blind (August 1980).

--Turning over a facility for vocational training in Maputo; guidance and qualifying of native teacher trainers by GDR instructors (June 1980).

--Activity by GDR instructors at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Maputo, especially in training secondary school teachers (August 1980).

--Assistance by GDR teachers in developing the contents and technical production of schoolbooks (February 1981).

#### Angola

--Almost one-third of all members of FDJ brigades having served in developing countries have worked in Angola in the area of technical agriculture with integrated career training (December 1979, June 1979, May 1980, October 1981).

--In accordance with the provisions established in the protocol on scientific-technical cooperation for the 1981-1982 time period, there is a significant increase in the number of GDR specialists--teachers and career instructors, among others--working in Angola (February 1981).

--Installation of the first laboratory with a total of 30 subject classrooms for instruction from the GDR in physics, chemistry and biology (October 1981).

--During her stay in Angola the GDR Public Education Minister visited the university institute for pedagogic sciences in Lubango, and as a gift she presented a physics classroom. Assumption of teaching duties by GDR instructors at the institute in the spring of 1982 (January 1982).

#### Guinea-Bissau

--Formation of a new teacher training institute in Bissau under the direction and assistance of GDR education planners and teachers (January 1979).

--The fourth training class at the Bra (Bissau) vocational training center was handed skilled worker certificates by GDR instructors and vocational teachers. The vocational training center in Bra was erected and fully equipped by the GDR (October 1980).

--Completion of qualification courses for school directors and teachers lasting several weeks or several months by GDR instructors in the capital city and in provincial cities; return of the first native teachers with university training after completion of a course of study at the Halle Teachers' College (November 1980).

#### FDJ Brigades: "Ambassadors in Blue Shirts"

Since the 1963 decision by the FDJ central council to send so-called friendship brigades of the GDR state youth association to developing countries and the first brigade mission in Mali in 1964 the association has concentrated mainly on missions on the African continent: Algeria, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Somalia (discontinued) and Tanzania; since 1978 in Mozambique, Angola and Sao Tome/Principe (1980), also in the People's Republic of Yemen, and finally in the non-European CEMA partner countries Vietnam and Cuba, as well as for a short time in Chile during the Unidad Popular period.

In 1982, 300 members of the youth association were assigned in 19 brigades in 9 countries, with 5 brigades in Angola alone--in the view of the GDR an "effective form of anti-imperialist solidarity."<sup>18</sup> In recent years the focal point of brigade work--as a rule its hand-picked members are career teachers, master instructors and skilled workers--has been in the establishment of facilities for career training with the simultaneous provision of general educational subject matter as a qualification prerequisite, in the training of engineering teachers, apprentice instructors and skilled workers, in maintenance work for the imported rural trucks and machinery, and in harvest activities, often accompanied by vocational qualification of youthful workers.<sup>19</sup> According to GDR data, through 1981 2,750 apprentices received training as skilled workers in FDJ vocational training centers in developing countries.

Such numbers seem relatively small, yet they become important when one adds to them the 40,000 foreigners who completed career training directly in the GDR between 1970 and 1980.<sup>20</sup> As is evident from the 1980 publications of the under secretary for career training, 1981/1982 4,000 young foreigners will receive training at GDR vocational training facilities and enterprises.

For years the largest contingent has been that of the Vietnamese, with about 2,500 undergoing training on the basis of an agreement between the governments of the GDR and Vietnam from 22 October 1973, which foresees vocational training for 10,000 Vietnamese in the GDR by the end of 1982.

#### Polytechnic Training: Specific Difference in GDR Foreign Pedagogic Work

Even in the early phase of GDR foreign pedagogic work the polytechnic training concept in the form of practical model variations appeared to be the innovative pedagogic instrument for the desolate educational system of a number of developing countries in Africa and Asia. The GDR thus acted--as it continues to do--in accordance with a basic pedagogic and economic concern of these countries, their efforts to achieve an early association of instruction with the provision of basic knowledge and skills in production in the framework of productive labor (including manual labor) by the students and integrated with instruction through all stages and in all classes.

The example India: At the beginning of the 1970's a wide range of polytechnic concepts were introduced into the GDR's pedagogic cooperation with India. As in the economic and scientific-technical area, as early as 1964 the GDR was able to bind the previously unorganized forms of cooperative relations in the cultural and educational sectors in official departmental agreements.<sup>21</sup> With its polytechnic variations the GDR complied with a basic demand of the Indian central government in the framework of reorganizing its rural school system: Incorporation of the provision of elementary work techniques into the school subject canon, and that under aspects of practicality and a favorable cost-benefit relationship.

It was under such aspects that in 1971 the acceptance of an aggregate project developed by Indian and GDR education experts to introduce polytechnic training--work experience being understood both as "experience in work" and as "training for work"--as an extensive model-experiment in 1,000 Indian village schools attained relevance in its own right. It is a project that is also valued in GDR literature as further evidence of the international reption and capacity of the GDR's educational system, allowing the transfer of socialist educational structures and elements into practice in developing countries.<sup>22</sup>

#### Cultivating the German Language and Literature

Here we must dispense with an extensive explanation of the international system of university vacation courses and summer seminars for foreign Germanists, German teachers and lectureres at universities and teachers' colleges in the GDR. In the meantime this course system, constantly expanded since the end of the 1950's and having a wide range of subjects, and having 1,400 participants from 50 countries in 1981, has become a tradition and is valued by socialist-communist partners and developing countries, but also in the West as one of the most attractive opportunities for further education and qualification within the international vacation programs of the European countries.<sup>23</sup>

The increased inclusion of the socialist and communist states in the GDR's efforts to intensify the teaching of the German language and the cultivation of German literature should not be overlooked. Bilateral agreements on the exchange of German students from socialist foreign countries and GDR students speaking foreign languages characterize these efforts, as does the increase in the number of study places offered for Germanics students from these countries at GDR universitites and the establishment of special qualifying opportunities for German teachers from CEMA partners, among other places at the Institute for the Further Education of Foreign German Teachers in Brandenburg, established in 1978 in association with the Potsdam Teachers' College.

Here it is not possible to go into further details on the importance of the Herder Institute of Karl Marx University in Leipzig for study by foreigners in the GDR. The institute, which in 1981 looked back on 25 years of existence and where so far 17,500 foreigners have attended, prepares foreigners for study at GDR universities and technical schools by means of the acquisition of general and relevant knowledge of the German language.

In view of the overall importance for foreign culture and the GDR's own pretensions in regard to the German language and in cultivating German literature, the work of GDR linguists, lecturers and teachers in the framework of the study of German literature and of foreign language German instruction, as well as the further education of language teachers at universities, cultural centers and programs for continuing education abroad deserves special attention. Again the example India:

If one reviews the focal points of the university relations of both countries, then without doubt the teaching work of GDR instructors in the foreign language section of the Osmania University in Hyderabad comes to the fore. The GDR is responsible for a significant part of the establishment and consolidation of the section's German department, in which since 1973 GDR university teachers have looked after the areas linguistics, methodics, grammar, literature and translation sciences. The section, which with the inclusion of courses of study leading to a diploma for translators and interpreters again expanded the scope of training in 1980, is the only university institution in India going beyond training for German-language specialty teachers and offering qualification opportunities to graduation in Germanics.<sup>24</sup>

An Indian-GDR German research project for compiling a bilingual Hindi dictionary is being followed with interest by the India sciences in German-speaking areas. The standard work, which according to initial plans calling for 50,000 key words will considerably exceed the volume of existing editions, is formulated on the "basis of contemporary language use in India and the GDR." The project, construed as a cooperative undertaking by the Central Hindi Directorate in New Delhi and the Universities of Leipzig and East Berlin, is in its final phase.

Despite the propagation in India of a by no means small number of practical German textbooks from FRG publishing houses, since 1980 a German language

schoolbook has been in development by GDR linguists. It is called "German for Indians," and is meant especially for use at the Hyderabad Foreign Language Institute, in the German language course system of the GDR culture institutes and finally for functions of the "GDR-Returnees Clubs," those meeting places for Indian graduates of GDR universities in part expensively equipped through GDR assistance. As in the case of comparable GDR schoolbooks, the contents of the textbook are oriented toward introducing as subjects the areas state, society, economy, culture and everyday life in the sense of a foreign-oriented self-presentation--"GDR studies."

"GDR studies" and the "Germany studies" of the FRG likewise serve as constituent elements of foreign language German instruction, and that holds true both as an overall principle in the subject canon of German language instruction for foreigners in general and also as a component of the subject of instruction "German as a foreign language."

One can suppose the existence of didactic-methodical, as well as at least partial analogies in content for "GDR studies" and "Germany studies." The proof would have to be furnished by comparative analysis.<sup>26</sup> This is lacking, as is the analytical study of the significance in foreign culture of the GDR's foreign language German instruction and its contents as an ideology transfer.<sup>27</sup> Terra incognita in the FRG's pedagogic GDR research.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The People's Republic of Yemen was one of the Arab countries (Iraq, Sudan, Syria and South Yemen), which from May through December 1969 as the first noncommunist states recognized the GDR under international law and established diplomatic relations with it. In part the signing of cultural agreements occurred years before the beginning of diplomatic relations: Iraq in 1959, Sudan in 1967, Syria in 1956, South Yemen in 1969 and Egypt in 1965. Cultural agreements with Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola were signed immediately after the establishment of diplomatic relations--that is, 1973 or 1975.
2. Only the Research Post for Foreign Education (FO) under the Professorship for General Pedagogics and Comparative Educational Science of the University of Oldenburg has systematically studied the research area "International Pedagogic Relations and GDR Foreign Pedagogic Work" and, among other things, prepared documentation in the form of a sectional record.
3. Compare Hans-Joachim Fischer, "Internationale paedagogische Beziehungen und paedagogische Auslandsarbeit der DDR" [International Pedagogic Relations and GDR Pedagogic Work Abroad], Paderborn, 1975. Among others Anita M. Mallinckrodt, "Die Selbstdarstellung der beiden deutschen Staaten im Ausland" [The Self-Presentation of Both German States Abroad], Cologne, 1980; Peter Luebbe, "Kulturelle Auslandsbeziehungen der DDR. Das Beispiel Finnland" [GDR Foreign Cultural Relations. The Example Finland], Bonn, 1981; for additional book publications and articles in

periodicals handling GDR foreign pedagogic work in individual areas see: H. J. Fischer, "Zeitschriftenschau: Paedagogik" [Overview of Periodicals: Pedagogics], in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Vol 3/1982, p 246 (Note No 6).

4. The total number of students from developing countries in all subjects at GDR universities and technical schools for the period 1970 through 1980 is given as 10,000, and altogether as 18,000 since 1951. In 1981, 8,500 foreigners were studying at GDR universities and technical schools.
5. Gerhard Huck, "Tendenzen und Probleme der Entwicklung des Bildungswesens national befreiter Staaten" [Tendencies and Problems in the Development of the Educational System of Nationally Liberated States], in PAEDAGOGIK, No 36/1981/10, p 821.
6. Ibid.
7. Reinhard Grimm, among others, "Zusammenarbeit der Mitgliedsstaender des RGW mit den Entwicklungslaendern" [Cooperation By CEMA Members With the Developing Countries], in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 27/1982/2, pp 15-30 (here: p 28).
8. Ibid.
9. Gerhard Huck, "Tendenzen und..." op. cit. (Note No 5).
10. Compare TIME, 21 April 1980.
11. An agreement between the GDR and Egypt on cultural and scientific cooperation was signed in 1965. The repeated changes in Egypt's state designation are not taken into account. In the following, statements and numbers are only indicated through source references in the notes when these are especially important beyond mere documentation for contents disclosure. In all cases the evidence is guaranteed by recorded proof (compare note No 2).
12. An exception is the Soviet influence on Algerian reform efforts in education in the last half of the 1960's.
13. There is a relatively broad range of written material in the FRG on the development of the GDR's political, economic and military relations with the young states in southern Africa. The mainly pedagogic nature of the article allows mention of only a few papers that have appeared in this periodical; among others, Hennig von Loewis of Menar presented a short but compact overview: "Das Engagement der DDR im Portugiesischen Afrika" [GDR Involvement in Portuguese Africa], in DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV, Vol 1, 1977, pp 32-42; in regard to the GDR's Africa policy we refer to Johannes Kuppe, "Investitionen, die sich lohnten" [Investments That Were Profitable], Ibid., Vol 4, 1979, pp 347-352, also Hennig von Loewis from Menar, "Machtpolitik suedlich des Sambesi" [Power Politics South of the Sambesi], Ibid., Vol 11, 1980, pp 1161-1171.

14. Compare footnote No 1.
15. At this point it is possible only to indicate the involvement of Cuban teachers in the literacy campaigns in Angola and Ethiopia. Cuba, which has had the most practical experience since its successful literacy campaign in 1961, had 3,500 teachers assigned to the literacy program at the end of 1981 in Angola (400), Ethiopia, Nicaragua (2,000) and in 17 other countries.
16. Following the data in each case in parentheses is the date of the agency or press report. Other focal points in foreign pedagogic work are Algeria, the People's Republic of Yemen and since 1980, Afghanistan. GDR foreign work in India takes place under different conditions and with different emphasis; compare the section "Polytechnic Training."
17. The involvement of FDJ brigades in Ethiopia, as well as in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau is treated separately.
18. Hartmut Koenig, "Die internationalen Beziehungen der Freien Deutschen Jugend" [The International Relations of Free German Youth], in DEUTSCHE AUSSENPOLITIK, No 23/1978/6, p 27.
19. Among others, compare Hilmer Hoenig, "Botschafter im Blauhemd auf drei Kontinenten" [Ambassadors in Blue Shirts on Three Continents], in DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 26/1979/34, p 3.
20. The figures in GDR disclosures on foreigners having completed or now receiving career training in the GDR vary, and in some cases they are contradictory.
21. Until the establishment of diplomatic relations (1972) the GDR's foreign cultural activities in India were handled largely through its commercial agents in Bombay and Calcutta (since 1954), as well as New Delhi and Madras (since 1956), and later through the consulate-general in New Delhi (1970). By 1970 over 100 Indians had already been graduated from GDR universities.
22. Compare, among many others: "Indische Schulen nach DDR-Vorbild" [Indian Schools According to the GDR Model], in DEUTSCHE LEHRERZEITUNG, No 17/1970/30, p 6; Dietrich Blandow, "Zur Entwicklung von Elementen der polytechnischen Bildung in Indien" [Regarding the Development of Elements of Polytechnic Training in India], in POLYTECHNISCHE BILDUNG UND ERZIEHUNG, No 15/1973/5, pp 212-217.
23. Since the completion of the first German course in Weimar in 1959 about 12,000 foreigners have made use of the GDR's German language opportunities for further education. On the occasion of the awarding of the Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm Prize (April 1980), the minister for GDR universities and technical schools indicated 20,000 as the number of participants

24. Compare, among others, Rolf Guenther, "Universitaet fuer Sprachen am Rande Hyderabads. DDR-Experten unterstuetzen Deutschunterricht in Indien" [Language University at the Edge of Hyderabad. GDR Experts Support German Instruction in India], in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, No 35/1980/99, p 11 (16-17 April 1980).
25. There are GDR-Returnees Clubs in New Delhi, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Coimbatore and Lucknow.
26. The first investigative findings in "GDR studies" and "Germany studies" will be presented, among other places, in the framework of an inter-university and interdisciplinary research project on the Germany image and the German question in the schoolbooks of both German states.
27. In no way does this determination diminish the analysis of the self-presentation of both German states abroad presented under a broader approach by Anita M. Mallinckrodt. In this regard compare "Die Selbstdarstellung...", op. cit. (Footnote No 3).

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED ACADEMICIANS' BOOK ON 'SOCIALIST CULTURE' REVIEWED

Neubrandenburg FREIE ERDE in German 14 Jul 82 p 4

[*"A 'Sparkling' Concept Is Explored"--'Science and Society'* feature review by Dr Rudolf Woderich of the collectively authored book *"Zur Theorie der Sozialistischen Kultur"* (On the Theory of Socialist Culture), published by GDR Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee]

[Text] "Culture--we can hardly think of a concept that is more sparkling and that defies clearer definitions than this word derived from Latin."

This sentence, prefaced to the book, may appear to be a clever device intending to make the reader more lenient and to dispense in advance with his critical judgment. However, if anybody has ever been put in the position where he had to reflect more carefully about the complex phenomenon of social culture, he will know that this sentence, borrowed from Johann Gottfried Herder, has not completely lost its validity today.

We must also consider that the philosophy of materialist culture, with a good dozen prominent proponents in this country, must still be considered a young discipline of historical materialism. Therefore, any new attempt to give a comprehensive picture of it must be considered a courageous undertaking.

After 17 years, (*"Kultur in unserer Zeit"* [Culture in Our Time], collectively authored under the direction of Fred Staufenbiel, Berlin 1965) the second comprehensive presentation by theoreticians on culture of the Academy of Social Sciences has now appeared.

In the meantime, important research results were published that had previously been submitted in various individual presentations. The publication reviewed here builds upon those previous studies and in part continues the development of their principles.

The first chapter (Hans Koch) contains extensive materials, in more than 100 pages and to an extent not available so far, on the characteristics and basic functions of human culture. A noteworthy feature of this chapter is the fact that the dialectics of graphic presentation and the acquisition of human capacities--i.e., the problems of social heredity--is here to a large extent a continuation of the work of Alfred Kurella, who developed his theories already in the 1960's based especially on a thorough analysis of Marx's early writings (economic-philosophical manuscripts).

The process and the concept of social heredity are obviously considered topics that are suitable to define more exactly the specific features of culture in contrast to other social processes. On the other hand, the first chapter does not give, in the philosophical sense, a sufficiently productive presentation of the concept of wealth as developed by Marx in his basic studies on the critique of political economy--a concept that has always been a rich source for materialist philosophy of culture--("What else is wealth if not the universality of need created by universal exchange?").

The second chapter deals with the characteristics and logical processes inherent in the development of a historically new type of culture, i.e., essentially with the problems of the socialist cultural revolution. Chapter 3 (Culture and Life Style; Helmut Hanke) and chapter 4 (Spiritual Culture in Socialist Society; Christa Ziermann) deal specifically with the presently evolving processes of socialist cultural development, and chapter 5 investigates the challenges and effects of socialist culture in the struggle of ideologies and systems (Wilfried Barthel).

#### Turned Rightside Up

The book explains with great intensity that socialism develops as a society of producers, that all live on their own work, and that even during leisure time no "helpful spirits" are available--and all this has its effects on the claims and responsibilities made on socialist culture. Socialist culture cannot simply be considered a continuation of narrow and very one-sided ideas developed in the minds of the intellectual exponents of the ruling nonworking classes (e.g., the practice of art as the measure of the cultural level of the working class).

Among the aspects of cultural theory that will be given renewed consideration on the basis of party decisions are: nature and life style, urban culture, culture in human relations and personal culture, questions on the consumption and development of material culture--the last aspect being perhaps the most concentrated expression of a consequential materialist point of view. It is not enough to make verbal assertions, according to well publicised patterns, that this is perhaps the most important part of culture, and then simply to follow, in reverse logic, these same old patterns. Once the topic is raised it will also receive a realistic, practical implementation.

From these premises follow some unusual sounding theses: "In this field (production of high quality products/R.W.) it is, in the end, above all

"industry which decides the cultural level of life, and acts as 'educator' of developed needs and of a better taste."

These and other thoughts in which cultural phenomena and processes have been placed rightside up, so to speak, can give many ideas to functionaries and leaders who have an interest in culture.

To find information on cultural processes in the country, however, will not be quite as easy. Some basic facts are mentioned, but only in direct form. However, the theory of culture can point out that as far back as the 1960's it explained the characteristic qualities and advantages of life in the country, that it is worthwhile to preserve these characteristics which will be fully developed only within socialist structure (Helmut Hanke, "Kultur und Lebensweise im sozialistischen Dorf" [Culture and Life in the Socialist Village], Berlin 1967).

#### Close to the Everyday Life of the Masses

Throughout the publication, topics are presented with depth and variety, even though to varying degrees. The language is for the most part "graphic" and for practical purposes it can be understood without too much effort. Fortunately, the authors have for the most part avoided idealizing constructions that are far removed from the practical everyday life of the working masses.

Occasionally it would have been desirable to see more emphasis on polemics with practices that even today lack a materialist understanding of cultural processes.

The entire layout of the publication makes clear: a broad, historical-materialist and dialectical concept of culture centered, of course, not around art has spread into all areas. Even though artistic achievements are alluded to throughout the book and even though their effects and social uses are explained, and art is recognized, as a "sensitive way to explore and evaluate social-psychological moods and feelings," artistic culture as a part of the entire spiritual culture can assume, within the scope of this presentation, neither more nor less of a place than it deserves: half of one of five chapters.

For the sake of comparison, it is interesting to note how seldom, or only sporadically, material aspects in the life of society that are dealt with in this publication are also considered, evaluated and emphasized as culturally important in practice. What applies to our world view in general should also apply in this individual case: nothing is more practical than a correct theory. To which might be added: as long as you make it your own.

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LOCAL COUNCILS STRUGGLE TO STREAMLINE ADMINISTRATION

Administrative Dilemmas

Budapest FIGYEL0 in Hungarian 8 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Mrs Lorant Polgard, Ph.D: "The Dilemmas of Modernizing Our Public Administration"]

[Text] Our clients and local leaders are both aware of the lack of harmony which exists between the demands facing local management and the services it provides.

Although there have been attempts to modernize our administrative and local management (i.e., the development of a client-service system, the establishment of economic-technical supply services, the setting up of inter-regional agencies, the provincial experiment, etc.), they have failed to yield reassuring and universally applicable results that would promote the modernization of our overall system of management. In my opinion, this lack of success, the lagging and the uncertainties of our management reform, and I dare to say: our lack of conception, have been due mainly to problems in local management and administrative efficiency.

During the past three decades, the institutional and management system which represents a significant part of our collective social consumption, has developed on the local level. Its tasks have included the operation of schools, kindergartens, health-care establishments, educational-, athletic- and social institutions. Their quality has had a significant impact on the development of our standard of living and living conditions.

Although our attempts here at home aimed at rationalizing our "productive" economy and correcting its efficiency problems have earned international recognition, virtually nothing has been done to improve the management of our collective social consumer goods and efforts to make it more rational have failed to materialize. Our economic management reform has not yet crossed the threshold of local management, even though a great deal of work needs to be done also in this area.

As one of the unfavorable consequences of our direct control methods, decisions are being made belatedly, at increasingly higher levels, after the

needs have already been met, causing democracy to be pushed into the background. Essentially the same could be said about our present local management.

To what extent and degree is it justified to maintain direct control? It would seem justified, for example, to continue the process of integration presently taking place in the area of health care which in the interest of making the most efficient use of the limited available financial means has been building its network on central hospitals, or in the area of education where centralization efforts are under way to improve the professionalism of management and administration.

In other areas, however, the decision-making authority and the financial resources should be decentralized. This would enhance the efficiency of settlement-maintenance and would improve the demand-sensitive utilization of development resources. This is further underscored by our experience that those communities whose local administrations have been closed down and whose schools have been centralized have lost some of their population-retaining capacity and occasionally have even become deserted. The migration from the villages--which has been usually directed toward the cities--has placed serious added strains on the housing and other communal burdens of our cities, it has had an unfavorable effect on their state of health and has led to a declining sense of residential community responsibility.

The central (capital city, megye) distribution of development resources may permanently eclipse the need to satisfy the just demands of certain social strata and certain areas, and it usually leads to a relaxation in the sharing of social responsibilities. The initiatives of the leaders of local administrations are thus doomed to failure. (Even the press had to be mobilized to salvage Sopron's historic buildings.)

The decentralization of our economic life and the expected increase in the number of small and medium-size factories, further underline the need for an administrative reform.

Our historical and international experiences have shown in the cases of economic difficulties it is first of all the state's administrative expenditures that are cut. These measures can always be presented as "popular and rational" since they lead to a reduction in the bureaucracy.

It is indeed true that these measures also contain some rational elements, since they do bring about a significant decrease in expenditures and in the bureaucracy. They usually neglect the fact, however, that public administration is not just spending money, but that its activities have direct, although not immediately measurable results and effects. Furthermore, public administration, to a great extent, is a service the quality, culture and performance of which is a living standard-determining factor which also has financial effects. (For example, a lack of professional expertise in administration can adversely affect our citizens' possibilities to make the best use of their free- and working time.)

We know from experience, that the "rationalization" of public administration is usually done mechanically, irrespective of functional changes, and is combined with reductions in force by predetermined percentages without examining whether this will lead to actual savings, or whether these savings are in proportion with the direct or indirect losses that may result. For example, regarding the destruction of the Balaton landscape we may rightfully ask why they gave permission for such dense development, and why they have failed to prevent building without a permit when it was clear that there were no state resources available to provide them with public utilities. The answer, unfortunately, is simple: our public administration had no power to stop it. Similar reasons could be found behind the relaxation of civic discipline in such areas as taxation, public order and public sanitation. In addition to this, the preservation of administrative professionalism has required centralization in areas where decentralization would have been called for, but where staff levels have made it impossible to carry out that function even on an elementary level. There have also been cases, of course, where they have tried to use administrative staff increases, i.e., overstaffing, to make up for lacking professional competence.

The fact, therefore, that our administrative and local management face diverse tasks

--which require significantly different methods of control and management;  
--which have different, from the point of view of control and management optimal dimensions and scopes;  
--and the efficiency of which is hard to measure, make the methods of modernization extremely complicated.

In order to carry out an effective administrative reform we must first re-examine the extent of our direct controls presently in effect.

#### Virtue of Necessity

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Valeria Revai: "Virtue Out of Necessity. Administrative Municipal Associations. Conference of Megye Executive Secretaries in Gyula"]

[Text] At the national conference of megye, capital city and municipal council executive secretaries held recently in Gyula, Dr Geza Kilenyi, deputy director of the Institute for State Administration Organization, presented--as the second item on the agenda--some information concerning the forming of administrative associations among the councils. In his opening remarks he pointed out that the law on the councils has made it possible for the councils to agree among each other--if it is more rational and efficient--to perform certain functions by way of jointly established agencies. For a long time the councils chose not to take advantage of this opportunity, but in recent years--as a result of various compelling circumstances--more and

more local councils have taken up themselves to enter into administrative associations with one another.

Since neither the law on the councils, nor its enactment clause gave further guidance or instructions concerning how to expediently go about establishing these associations, the picture is still quite diverse and mixed; it could even be said that those who have undertaken to join an association have done so more or less according to their own ideas. It is little wonder, therefore, that some of the experiments launched in various areas of the country have fundamentally differed from one another. Yet, despite all these differences it is also obvious that it has been worthwhile to undertake the risk of experimentation and the not always problem-free task of trying to coordinate various interests. For these administrative associations have been successful virtually everywhere.

We also get quite a diverse picture of where and who have decided to join forces to carry out a given, or perhaps several special administrative tasks. Dr Geza Kilenyi gave a detailed report about the situation around the country based on the megyes' self-assessment, pointing out that some of the numerical data deserved special attention because they were indicating a trend. Before the creation of the organization of councils there had been 682 notarial districts in the country. With the establishment of the councils in 1950, these were eliminated. As it is well known, one of the fundamental political requirements of that time was for the state to be present everywhere, and this brought with it a process which eventually led to the creation of 2,978 council organizations. It was much later, when it became increasingly clear that this strong fragmentation was one of the most significant hindrances holding up the further development of our public administration, that they began to reduce the number of local councils operating around the country.

There are quite a number of people who, grossly oversimplifying this change, are interpreting this to mean that the council organizations are withdrawing from the villages. However--as Dr Gexa Kilenyi pointed out--we cannot agree with this assessment, since organizational integration does not mean withdrawal! Although it is true that today 1,610 settlements of our country's 3,004 villages have no locally operating councils, the levels of administrative decision making have--as a result of a simultaneously ongoing de-centralization of authority--gotten closer to the population.

#### Eighteen Megyes

As we have already noted, the law on the councils has from the beginning taken into account the possibility that because of the lack of necessary professional competence and due to the small number of certain official cases, it may become necessary--based on the preliminary report by the executive committee of the megye council and on the decision of the local executive committees--to give certain villages regional jurisdiction. So far, 18 megyes have seen the development of some organizational form of regional jurisdiction; only in Komarom megye has this not been tried on a single settlement.

Administrative associations may be broken down into three categories. The first includes those villages and large villages which join solely for the purpose of performing a single type of special administrative task. These have been established in six specialized areas: in construction, in the administration of petty offense cases, in enforcing price-controls for private artisans, in tax-collection work, in the machine accounting of taxes and in performing price authority-related tasks. Great differences can be found, furthermore, in their degree of intensity; most villages have joined to combine forces in carrying out certain specialized tasks concerning technical or construction administration. (Presently, we have 132 such districts; there are villages where only two and two villages have joined, and there are some where villages belonging to a given geographical area or jaras have joined a single organization to carry out their respective tasks.) These first steps in the area of regionalization are still only exploratory; however, in a great many places--using their favorable experiences--they have gone even further, creating so-called complex administrative districts. This, therefore, is the second group of district-types, and presently there are 21 complex districts operating in 5 megyes. Baranya megye, for example, is ahead in this area: there are 11 districts operating in the megye which are engaged in performing construction, price authority-related, industrial, commercial and tax-collection tasks.

The main characteristic of the third type of administrative associations is that it points beyond the legal regulations and the statutory provisions of the law on the councils which are presently in force: in these associations the joint administrative agencies were established by cities and suburban villages. Presently, there are 54 village and large village councils attached to 11 cities, and these associations perform certain official functions in 186 settlements.

#### Regionalization Has Been Working

After this, Dr Geza Kilenyi proceeded to assess the experiences of these administrative associations so far. Most of the megyes feel that so far regionalization has worked, since there is ample evidence to show that the administration of official matters has become more professional, better in quality, more prompt and more efficient. Yet, there are also some problems. Several megyes have indicated, for example, that tax-collection work has slowed down somewhat because it has become harder to investigate, and it has made tax-fraud prevention an increasingly more difficult task for the authorities. Some of our villages have other kinds of unfavorable experiences. While the administrator who performs specialized regional tasks fundamentally contributes to improving the quality of work, specialization also has its limits. It often happens, for example, that the specialized administrator's working time is not completely taken up by what he is "licensed" to do, while others are overworked. In spite of this, however--precisely because of this uniquely defined specialization--rational division of labor is quite rare.

One of the things which has not seemed to work out is the practice whereby the villages joined to perform administrative functions insist on keeping

their officially assigned jurisdictions intact. For this suppresses the very benefits which regionalization provides. And while we are discussing minor drawbacks, it would be a mistake not to mention the benefits which may result from these associations. For example, the fact that most of the punitive sanctions brought in petty-offense cases are unquestionably more equitable and have come increasingly to reflect our people's sense of justice. Another important benefit is that our regional administrators for petty offenses cannot be dissuaded by any ties of family or friendship from making legal and stricter decisions. This organizational form is also praised in areas where specialized skills are vital for performing various tasks (i.e., regional price control); it is also definitely worth noting, however, that today the associated villages have an easier time finding a skilled regional technical administrator and also, that they are able to pay them better.

#### A Multi-Color Palette

To sum it all up: the associations--formed mostly on the initiative of the megye councils' executive committees--have been working successfully, yielding significant benefits, and today our enterprising villages are unanimously pleased with them. One of the reasons for this is that, for example, the number of skilled administrators in the village and great village councils has been increasing every year; the new technics have been gradually gaining ground in a number of specialized areas; in other places--for example, in the settlements around Lake Velence and Lake Balaton--a useful, and more importantly, unified aerial view has evolved, and a growing number of councils can justly feel that they have become the real masters of a given section of their area or lake shore.

Having seen or heard about the above described administrative associations many experts may raise the following question: we have just seen a decentralization wave; does this mean now that centralization is back "in style"? However--stressed Dr Geza Kilenyi--the advantages and drawbacks of centralization and decentralization must not be looked at in isolation from space and time. As a result of regionalization--or if you like, centralization--even those villages have been given primary official jurisdiction which--due to a lack of necessary personnel conditions--would otherwise have never received it. At the same time, regionalization may also mean alienation from the population. This, however, is only a relative alienation, for there are methods that can be worked out to help the population feel only the advantages of joining an association.

As we have already mentioned, the existing state of affairs is quite mixed. On the one hand, this is good because it enables us to weigh a variety of experiences. What we would like today, therefore, is to convince our megye and local councils not to add any more "colors" to the palette. The 11 years that have elapsed since the promulgation of the law on the councils could be viewed as a period of independent actions and experimentations. Regionalization is yet another administrative solution--similar to the cooperation between the councils and the jaras bureaus--which have enabled us to turn necessity into a virtue. Therefore, we have plenty of experiences, and it has also been proven that districts and administrative associations do have a place in today's Hungarian administration. Right now, however, we have reached a phase where it is our central organs' turn to act; summing up these experiences they are the ones to show us in which direction and how to proceed.

POLAND

PZPR SLUPSK FIRST SECRETARY WOJCIK INTERVIEWED

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 May 82 pp 1,2

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Wojcik, first secretary, Voivodship PZPR Committee in Slupsk, by Ryszard Naleszkiewicz: "On the Subject of Youth, before the Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Comrade, what is your diagnosis of the current situation of the younger generation (in terms of age, the generation of 18- and 35-year olds)? Let us talk about their opportunities.

[Answer] This immediately brings to mind the recent slogan "the generation of great opportunities." Such slogans and promises, seductive to the young, have done much harm and caused bad blood; today we are reaping that harvest. At this time, there is the recognized problem of providing employment to 300,000 young people who, after completing education at a certain level, have the right to work. There is a binding position of concerned ministries, coordinated with the Government Presidium, that all of them will be employed. Of course, this will cause temporary difficulties.

[Question] Under the conditions of economic reform, the control of employment is difficult at best and perhaps impossible.

[Answer] The reform debated at the last plenary session of the Central Committee is an opportunity for the young, exactly opposite to what Western broadcasts are trying to make us believe. They are spreading stories about a lost generation, people without a future. Meanwhile, the young on their own are becoming more interested in the reform. This is no longer a discussion directed by the party or discussion teams. This is a period of psychological changes and it is a positive phenomenon. After all, the young generation will be implementing the reform and will shape the whole country at the turn of the century.

[Question] Meanwhile, the reform affected primarily the young. Price increases hurt most those on the way up. Those who have nothing must buy the basics for their children and for their households. As journalists, we see this every day. Many letters betray the feelings of breakdown and lack of faith in the future. How far does this go? A few days ago, I talked to a few young activists of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) at the

Ursus. The response to my question of what is expected from the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Committee was a shrug of the shoulders. "Let's see the results, not the debate," they said.

[Answer] This show-me attitude is very dangerous. We should oppose it because it is very destructive. I also encounter such opinions among young people. Recriminations are directed even against retirees, living off their own contributions that they did not build our socialism properly, not the way the young expected, not as promised to them. We ourselves offered it, we convinced them to expect the comfort that is lacking today. Today's disaffection is the result and to a great extent it is justified. The authorities see all this. For instance, credits for young couples have been increased to 150,000 and 75 percent of this sum can be forgiven.

[Question] But there are conflicts at the places of employment....

[Answer] There are. The older employees ask why our social fund should be given to the young for free. They should work, save and buy what they need. There are divisions along these lines among the young themselves. At the Alka Northern Leather Industry Plant in Slupsk, I witnessed conflict between young singles and young marrieds. Some are already settled, some are not. We can see completely, contrary interests. The married ones, already settled, say that just a loudspeaker on the wall brought joy to them, that no company or plant gave them free credit, "and you [the singles] want a TV set, automatic washer and credit forgiveness all at once." The young ones answer that "for us even a Fiat 126p is not a luxury but an everyday domestic tool." One's interests are determined by one's situation in life, not by age. Quite likely, these conflicts can become more acute. But the older generation is not that malevolent; they primarily desire that the young roll up their sleeves and start working efficiently.

[Question] At this time, these frustrations are released in various ways, sometime by participation in street riots.

[Answer] This occurs only on the fringe. Primarily nonworking youth participated, less than 1 percent. The working youth did not play with rough stuff. It is important to provide to the young opportunities for releasing their tensions, give them self-fulfillment at work, organize their time through clubs, culture. Plant clubs are dying because the S factor is at work--S stands for self-financing. It is being decided that club financing is too expensive. This is a serious error and the young themselves must fight for resources so that the hall of culture is full of life. After all, it is for them.

[Question] Not one student club is open in Slupsk....

[Answer] Administratively, they have not been dissolved. Already after the August events, the press expressed concern that student life in Slupsk was very enigmatic. We will pay attention to the current state of affairs. Coming back to the working youth, we are seeing a trend to close kindergartens

at state farms (PGR), also for financial reasons; they are too expensive. Many of them in our area were well equipped. Curiously, the young who are affected, do not protest, do not fight against it.

[Question] What is the housing situation?

[Answer] This is the most difficult problem. Food, cultural and educational problems are easier to deal with. With housing there are academic discussions of what is better, bricks or large blocks; was housing prefabrication helpful or harmful; etc. Our engineers should stop arguing which technology is better and start improving whatever is available. There are a few hundred prefabricating plants. In our voivodship there are two: one in Slupsk producing residential housing and the other in Lebork producing farm buildings. They should be improved and an effort made to lower their production costs. Here, the waiting period for apartments is well over 10 years and applications to housing cooperatives are no longer accepted. The prospects are bad. True, last year we were one of the few voivodships that fulfilled its housing construction plan but that plan had a lower target than had been achieved in previous years. Cement is available. For a change, construction is constrained by availability of steel, whose domestic production has significantly decreased.

[Question] It is necessary to try some other ways....

[Answer] The young have interesting ideas. In our area many small brickyards were abandoned as unprofitable. The Union of Polish Socialist Youth wants to use them as the basis for a brick-producing cooperative. If someone needs bricks, he works for the cooperative and produces a double quantity. He takes the quantity that he planned at cost less his work contribution; the balance is sold by the cooperative at retail prices. We will support construction of single-family housing. Countrywide, residential construction is a serious business. By 1990 we will be building an estimated 400,000 apartments per year. However, there are 300,000 new marriages per year; with 100,000 divorces--which add to the demand for housing--this number of apartment apartments is already too low. By putting small brickyards in operation and freeing social initiative, the construction will become much more prolific.

[Question] However, the most difficult thing when building one's own house is to obtain a lot with access to public roads and utilities.

[Answer] We are developing much land for single-family housing and for "combined" dwellings: duplexes, quadruplexes, etc. The latter is much cheaper. The authorities must provide utilities for this land: water, electricity, gas, heat. The young will support such housing and invest their own work and enthusiasm. Also, we would like to increase the size of building lots to 5, 8 and 10 acres. This would be a great relief for agriculture; on lots like that, people would grow for their own use and more. This could be done along the road to Ustka.

[Question] This voivodship is mostly agricultural. What is the situation of the young in the country?

[Answer] It looks better now. We have noticed the beginning of staying on the land and even of the return of the young to the land. This has been influenced by recent decisions regarding agriculture. Production of basic equipment for private farms has improved--harrows can be bought; they are stored in township cooperatives. Small businesses and crafts help. The young are returning to the land also because of housing. It is very difficult to get an apartment in the city.

[Question] What do you think about the activities of youth organizations?

[Answer] The current popular opinion is very critical but not quite true. Social activists are trying very hard to pull the young out of frustration and apathy, which overwhelmed them. Social activists should not be scolded; paid employees may be. We are trying to help but not to dictate and to program. For instance, the Rural Youth Union (ZMW) is not trying to get on the marquee, it does not attempt grandiose actions. It does basic things and it is active. The Union of Socialist Polish Youth (ZSMP) is also active. We were a little worried about the conflicts between ZSMP and ZMW in villages but they have come to an understanding. Also, in our only college, the Higher Pedagogical School, the Socialist Union of Polish Students (SZSP) does good work. During the strikes in support of the Radom affair, the then nonparty chairman, Wroblewski (he has joined the party since), defended the party position and together with the activists influenced the students not to join the strike. They fought sharply with the Independent Association of Students for just causes.

[Question] In view of your opinion on the youth, what do you expect from the Ninth Plenary Session of the Central Committee? What do you expect as the first secretary of the Voivodship Committee, which will implement those resolutions and for which it will be held responsible?

[Answer] The Republic will be as good as the youth will build it. We must make this building process easier. We must promise nothing in advance: that it will be easier, that it will require less toil and give more pleasure. These kinds of promises have not been fulfilled and the wrath of the young turned against the older generation and against the party. Western diversion took advantage of this and fed the discontent, telling stories of conflict between generations, of the lost generation, etc. Thus, the plenary session of the Central Committee cannot promise anything. At the last council of first secretaries of Voivodship Committees there were chairmen of all youth organizations. Comrade Jaruzelski stated that if we want to help the youth, first we must listen to them, then prompt them and later let them prompt us in matters concerning the youth. And everything is of concern to the young.

[Question] Did you have a plenary session of the Voivodship Committee dedicated to the affairs of the young?

[Answer] No, we do not think this is necessary. We keep up with these problems. We had two executive sessions on this subject and we participate

in the youth organizations. We would have such a plenary session if the young desired it. Besides, the young attend all our plenary sessions and actively participate.

[Question] You have defined what you do not expect from the Ninth Plenary Session. What do you expect?

[Answer] I hope that the young will take an activist approach to the plenary session of the Central Committee. There must emerge a realistic program that will satisfy that generation. I am familiar with the session preparation process but I do not know the final outcome. There ought to be a realistic program for employment and housing construction and a program for work, pay and social conditions for young families.

[Question] I am under the impression that you are an optimist?

[Answer] Yes, I am. Otherwise I could not work here. We will get out of this crisis in less than 3 years. The Polish nation has that peculiar characteristic of being able to mobilize under difficult conditions. When things are better, we often come apart. We close ranks when things are tough. That is what is happening.

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PHILOSOPHICAL CONCEPT OF 'EUROPEANISM' DISCUSSED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 8, Aug 81 pp 99-108 [signed to press November 1981]

[Article by Witold Marciszewski, professor in the Faculty of Humanities at the Bialystok Branch of Warsaw University: "Philosophical Aspects of Europeanism"]

[Text]. The word "Europeanism" does not occur frequently in Polish, which indicates that the idea expressed by it has not become part of a common awareness in our language. Where it does occur more frequently is in the German language, where it relates to the idea of Europe as a single civilization system which comprises the European communities, in spite of national, political and economic differences that divide them. This idea comes down from Renaissance political thought, in particular that of Machiavelli, developed by the French Enlightenment movement, and enriched by the philosophy of history of the romantic period (F. Guizot), with its apotheosis of freedom and pluralism, as typically European characteristics. If one looks for the earlier, so to say precursory manifestations of this idea, one would find it in the medieval concept of the "sacrum imperium," and in the contrasting civilized and barbarous communities of antiquity.<sup>1</sup>

Europeanism is not only a tradition, but also a far-reaching political program. Every rational program of action rests on consciously and critically accepted premises, both empirical and philosophical. It is worthwhile to give some thought to the assumptions, primarily philosophical, of a certain version of Europeanism.

Problem of Continental Economics

The fact that Europe constitutes rather a compact economic system is being perceived by the specialists and is likewise observable by the educated general public. There is no need to undertake here the analysis of the various aspects of this state, for that subject has accessible literature in the Polish language, and at the same time I would exceed the framework of this essay.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, it is worthwhile taking a step ahead and tackling a certain problem of a more general nature, which may be described as the problem of continental economics. In this connection two questions should be answered: 1) To what extent, can Europe, as a continent, be economically self-sufficient?, and 2) Whether and in what measure, should one avail oneself of the achievable degree of self-sufficiency, taking into account the good of Europe and other continents?

The answer to the first question would require much empirical data concerning raw-material deposits, possibilities and profitability of various technologies (e.g., nuclear power stations, demographic trends, etc. The analysis of such data is not the object of this article, it is necessary, however, to note this cognitive need, for it must be satisfied if one should give an affirmative answer to the second question, to which answer the present essay is to supply certain elements. The second question is a typical optimization problem, that is, the selection of a most advantageous variant in which the sum of the achieved profits should be greater than in the other variants (even though individual quantities in the optimum variant might be smaller than in other variants: this differentiates optimization from maximalization).<sup>3</sup>

Arguing in favor of the affirmative answer to the second of the above questions, one should in the first place call attention to philosophical arguments, since they, as a rule, interfere in our thinking without our awareness, and at the same time they are among the most controversial ones. The lack of agreement as to practical proceedings may spring from differences in the unconsciously assumed philosophical positions; thus to be aware of them is indispensable for the coordination of actions.

There are two philosophical assumptions that argue in favor of the achievement of a high-degree of economic self-sufficiency, which can be defined as naturalism. This word occurs in philosophy in various, not very accurately defined meanings. Here it will be used in a meaning that is closest to its etymology, as the name for a standpoint which ascribes to nature an essential role in the formation of the society's life and includes nature in a sphere of values higher than usable ones, and therefore does not treat it solely from the viewpoint of struggle and exploitation. The first of these elements finds its expression in a version called geopolitical orientation.

Geopolitical orientation is based on the belief that in the formation of suprastate systems--such as alliances, blocks, economic associations--one should take into account the geographical and physical factors which may have political consequences, as for example, geographical neighborhood, naturalness of frontiers, demographic situation, ethnic configurations, communication routes, raw-materials deposits. Naturalism, which is the basis of this orientation, makes it attach importance in the first place to nature and spatial-material conditions, and only then take into account phenomena from the sphere of ideology, culture, etc.; the latter--being more flexible and susceptible of being influenced, among others, by virtue of self-fulfilling beliefs--may be shaped, in order to adapt them to the hard requirements of natural realities. In other words, social laws are partly derivative in relation to human awareness, and the awareness may be influenced to a greater degree than processes determined by the laws of nature. There is, for example, a social truism that a wrong provokes a rebellion of the wronged ones, but in order for this truism to operate, it is indispensable among "initial conditions" that there be a certain state of awareness--namely, the feeling of wrong--and this, under certain circumstances, cannot be permitted. On the other hand, there are no such circumstances under which we could suspend the biological or physical laws.

Thus, e.g., the geopolitical orientation will incline toward alliances with those states with which our state has no objective conflict of interests and, on the other hand, has frontiers, connections and possibilities of complementing one another which promise mutual favorable results of cooperation in the economic, political or military field. Such arguments should prevail in the opinion of geopoliticians over cultural and ideological differences, or over some historically motivated emotions, if some of these matters would separate us from potential partners.

**Axiological Attitude Toward Nature.** The second philosophical assumption, which might be called the postulate of respect for nature, is close to the ideas of defenders of the natural environment; in some countries they even form political groupings ("Greens"), well aware of the far-reaching consequences of their attitude. The ecological movement may have motivations of the Malthusian type, i.e., arguments that the interests of the present and future generations are endangered by the uncontrolled increase of such factors as the number of population, consumption of raw materials, pollution of the environment. In accepting these arguments, we should amplify them by a certain element of axiological nature, belonging to the sphere of values of which it is difficult to speak articulately, but it cannot be left unspoken. Therefore, let examples take place of theoretical explanations.

If someone is avoiding the wasting of bread and is using leavings for feeding hogs, then it is a praiseworthy farmer's attitude, which may be equated with the attitude of respect for nature. But there is something more in this attitude, something that makes people save bread even if there were not any economical arguments for doing so. This flows from the spirit of this country where "a crumb of bread is being gathered from the ground out of respect for heaven's bounty" (Norwid).

This attitude of respect is something fundamentally different from a wish to dominate and exploit, which is manifested by man when he talks of a subjugation and conquest of nature. A good example of such respect is that what Tenzing wrote about his ascension of Mount Everest: "I climbed not with conceit and sheer force, as a soldier that attacks an enemy, but with love of a child that clambers onto the knees of his mother."<sup>4</sup>

The philosophical attitude of bonds of nature not only dissuades us from wastefulness and predatory exploitation, but, moreover, which is more important, generates sensitivity to goods that are objectively of greatest value and at the same time are the cheapest economically, for they consume no energy or raw materials. Objectively, of greatest value are those goods which assure what Aristotle and his countrymen called "eudaimonia" and which is a state of all-round proficiency, inward tranquillity and enduring satisfaction--a state of both body and mind. On what goods does the achievement of such a state depend? There are among them the most elemental ones, such as oxygen, verdure, water, sun, movement, physical relaxation, as well as more refined ones: beautiful views and sounds, friendship, love, erotica, a feeling of one's own efficiency, building abstract notional constructions, achievement of intellectual syntheses.

The madness for possession and consumption that swept over the rich part of mankind is psychologically understandable, for these are the easiest ways to satisfy needs that are actually spiritual: the need of domination (for example, through distinguishing oneself by luxury), financial security (bank account), novelty (buying ever new things). In the pursuit of such spiritual gains, men lose many enlivening, sensory pleasures which serve eudaimonia. The entry into this blind alley was perhaps unavoidable at a certain time, for such are the first reactions of a poor wretch who has found himself in a palace. But when poverty becomes a remote past and at the same time the mental culture increases, it becomes possible to have renewed, mentally refined, close relations with nature. Europe has a fair chance to be the first to enter such a "golden age," being a continent which best fulfills the three conditions: a) having been rich for a long time; b) having great traditions of spiritual culture; c) having at its disposal the scientific and technical thought necessary for a transformation of technology, economy, institutions and mentality, to implement rapprochement with nature as a biological foundation of eudaimonia.

Poland, although she does not fulfill to an adequate degree all of the enumerated conditions, also has a chance to find herself in that future European civilization, living in a symbiosis with nature. It would be difficult, however, not to notice how much was done in our country to bring upon us the worst effects of industrial civilization without its benefits. That has been a visible result of the official philosophy, which lacked the thought of material subordination of social life, whereas the doctrine of the class struggle was pieced together with the imitation of the capitalist models of consumption. Consequently, even before it is possible to make up for the successive delays, it is worthwhile to ponder, in each case, whether it is worth cutting down a forest to build a steel plant, and whether pure air is not more valuable than the wonders of motorization--and since it is well known that motorization, even when it is not practical, is of spiritual and therapeutic value, one should give some thought to how to satisfy these needs at a lesser cost.

Economic Autonomy of the Continent and Naturalism. A high degree of economic autonomy and independence of Europe in relation to other continents would result from taking the path of "naturalistic economics," even if such results were not planned. Much more would be achieved if this direction were pursued with a set purpose. Here are different connections of the philosophy of naturalism with the trend toward economic autonomy of the continent.

The chances of economic autonomy and independence would be increased as a result of smaller requirements for energy and raw materials. A change in the model of consumption--instead of intensive consumption of industrial products, a greater emphasis on "consuming" the gifts of nature and cultural goods--would bring about essential savings of energy and raw materials, and thereby Europe would become more capable of satisfying its needs by its own means.

A generalization of geopolitical orientation would incline us toward looking for partners among neighbors from the continent and not overseas. That would enhance industrial cooperation, trade exchange and the exchange of scientific and technological thought within the framework of Europe. The geopolitical orientation has among other things that effect that it makes us come to an

understanding even with a vexatious neighbor instead of having recourse to a remote friend.

The desire for maximally economical management compels us to turn attention to the problems of transport from the point of view of the saving of time and energy of men and machines. Obviously, the shortest the distances and the densest the network of connections, the lowest the costs of transportation. The rather not very large size of our continent and its dense network of connections, together with the easiness of the creation of new connections in case of need thanks to a highly developed technology, point to the profitability of intracontinental exchange. A good illustration of this profitability is the plan to export of the Soviet natural gas to the FRG through a pipeline. This must be highly profitable for a Western partner, for it has prevailed over doubts resulting from the fact of the dependence on energy deliveries from another military bloc. Apart from the problem of the density of connections and their length, there is still the problem of the type of route. Sea connections which were highly profitable at the time of sailing ships and at the time of cheap crude, are no longer as profitable nowadays, when it is necessary--looking into the future--to take into account shortages of energy: pipelines and electric traction on railroads have a fair chance of winning the competition with tankers.

Because of the pivotal nature of the energy problems, it is necessary to draw attention to the question of optimization of the production and transmission of electric energy. Optimization requires taking into account several factors. On the one hand, large and power plants situated far apart providing power to a vast area, are more profitable than dense network of small local plants. On the other hand, however, the transport of energy for great distances causes energy losses, which would argue in favor of small power plants. To this should be added the need to have reserve equipment in the case of breakdowns, and likewise such multiplication of power sources is cheaper in the case of small plants. As a result, it appears that the optimum average distance to which electric energy is being transmitted is now 100 km, which can be adequately contained within the pale of domestic energy systems. But the expected progress in technology of power transmission should increase the optimum average transmission distance to 1,000 km, and that will be more a continental than a domestic scale.<sup>5</sup> Thus, the development of technologies of the generation and transmission of energy might in the future force a new political solution aimed at continental integration.

The next argument for continental economics for Europe is supplied by the matter of raw materials. The countries of Western Europe owe their economic advances not only to labor and skills but likewise to the access to cheap raw materials in other continents, obtained as a result of colonial conquests. Decolonization brought on the former metropolises a serious threat in the form of being cut off from sources of raw materials whereas the requirement for them is increasing. The political instability of the "Third World," which is a natural phenomenon, for the incipient statehoods and may still last a long time, creates a permanent uncertainty as regards supply of raw materials, especially in such a critical matter as crude oil. Meanwhile, there exists in Europe a state, the Soviet Union, capable of satisfying a considerable part of the

requirements of Western Europe; this state, however, because of the politico-military division of Europe, is functioning rather in a small degree as a supplier of raw materials for the Western part of the continent. On the other hand, the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe, which had a later start in the area of technology and in optimization of economical systems, could more effectively develop their own technology and economic organisms, given more intensive--and carried on under conditions of mutual confidence--cooperation with countries that had more time to accumulate experience. Looking in this light at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] one may perceive in it a sound geopolitical reflex: it evidences a positive philosophical evolution inside the camp to whose share falls the merit of having initiated the conference.

Europe and Other Continents. The problems of economic integration of Europe and the economic autonomy of our continent are connected with certain questions concerning the relationship of Europe to other continents. Let us start from the eventuality, little probable, but not to be neglected, namely, from the matter of the military threat to Europe from the outside. It is true that for the last several centuries, Europe, apart from the Balkans, has not experienced any invasion or occupation from Asia or Africa, but it had been otherwise in former centuries (as late as in 1683 invaders from Asia besieged Vienna). In recent centuries, the might of Europe and its offensive capability has protected her from invasions, but there is no guarantee that this will always be so.

Taking into account the eventuality of intercontinental conflicts is not the expression of suspiciousness toward neighbors from other continents--it is simply the expression of realism. Realism makes us look at conflicts and tendencies to expansion as among the natural laws of this world. Such realism is not at variance with the readiness to cooperate with the "Third World" in solving its complex problems. At the present moment, Europe, divided into blocs, cannot do much in this field, the more so as its technological thought and material means are being absorbed by armaments, and the clash of influences of the two systems in the regions of the "Third World" is creating new complications in it.

Meanwhile, problems of the "Third World" have all the hallmarks of squaring the circle, which is rarely understood by an average European. Here is an example, not the most drastic one: a feedback between the shortage of energy and the demographic explosion. The energy shortage in many rural areas of the "Third World" compels a family to devote 6 hours for fetching drinking water from some remote storage reservoir, then another 6 hours for gathering firewood, and the rest of the time for pasturing cattle and other farming activities. This can be done only by having very large families, so that for millions of poor rural families having many children as a workforce is a condition of survival. In turn, the high birth rate is creating a colossal economic problem.

Our Europe with its high economic and intellectual potential could through common effort contribute effectively to the elimination of these destructive feedbacks. Is there any chance for this?

### The Idea of "European Ecumenism"

Civilizational Ecumenism. The word "ecumenism" (from the Greek *oikoumene*--that which is inhabited, community) denotes a tendency to restore original community. This term is used most often in relation to a Christian community which in bygone days formed a unity, but for centuries had been divided into various denominations, and which at present is tending to overcome divisions and to again achieve unity. Civilizational or cultural ecumenism is the tendency to overcome divisions or even antagonisms that came into existence within the sole civilization. In this sense, one can speak of "European ecumenism," as a movement aimed at a rapprochement of the two ramifications--Eastern and Western (Latin)--of European civilization.

These are actually two branches and not two different civilizations, for they grew up from the common stem that was the Christianized Roman Empire, inheriting the Hellenistic culture, and which was divided politically in 395 into the Eastern and Western parts. This division was deepened by the fall in the 5th century of the Western state and by a religious schism in the 11th century, which, together with dissimilarity of cultural traditions of the Near East and Western Europe, brought about the formation of the two civilizational regions.

One can meet with a view that these differences are such a deep phenomenon that they bring into question the possibility of mutual understanding. A discussion of such an attitude would be rather a dry dispute, for it is difficult to find a method to measure cultural differences and a formula relating this quantity to the probability of an understanding. The matter should be presented in another way. One should assume philosophically that every rational creature can come to an understanding with another rational creature if both see in it a mutual good. It is not necessary to worry whether that assumption will be fulfilled in every case; the uncertainty involves a risk, but no one says that risk is a sufficient argument for abstaining from action. On the other hand, there is a certainty that if we were to abstain from action we would achieve nothing.

Why do we postulate here a "European ecumenism" and not a "global" one? As a reason for that, it would be sufficient to say that the road to a community of the higher order leads through the union of more fundamental communities. An even more perceptible reason for a "European ecumenism" is that common interest of Europe, is harmonized with the interest of the rest of the world, to which a reference was made above.

How's that?--the opponents may ask. Is it not that the real civilizational community calls into being common interests, but that the interests are to create a civilizational community? This objection is not without foundation, for it happens not infrequently that the consciousness of a common good depends on the earlier existing consciousness of the group community. But there can also be the reverse dependence, and the two directions of dependence become mutually reinforced by virtue of feedback: When people feel themselves to be a community, they have, as a consequence, common interest, which in turn reinforces the group bond, so that the common interest is outlined even more

clearly, and so on. The inference from this feedback is that we are dealing with a plastic matter subject to voluntary forming, and at the same time capable, having once received an impulse, of spontaneous growth.

In this context, one should not fear the concept of myth, which could provide a premise to a conscious cultivation of the myth of Europe as an instrument of "European ecumenism." The word "myth" can arouse opposition but at the same time it is really useful, and therefore it is worthwhile to devote a small digression to it.

In speaking of myth, we do not prejudge whether false beliefs are involved here. In using this word we would rather like to state that the truthfulness or falseness of beliefs is a secondary matter, for uppermost is their function, which consists of producing social bonds. For example, on totemic societies, the role of an integrating bond is fulfilled by the myth of a common origin from an animal ancestor, some place else it will be the myth of a special mission of some nation, of its exceptional attributes, historical mission, etc. The object of a myth is, therefore, that community in relation to which it fulfills its integrating function. It contains the emotion-replete valuations concerning the given group, its past and its neighbors, and thereby it shapes the norms and motivations of the members of that community. It forms, therefore, an essential element of initiation, that is, of those measures which transform individuals in the given group, or those who joined it, into its conscious participants.

In considering myth not from the sociological but from the epistemological viewpoint, we can apply to its cognitive function in substance the same measure that is also applied to ordinary and scientific cognition. In all these types of cognition there is present the factor of the activity of the subject. What occurs in the sensory perception, that is, formation of the image through a creative act of giving it a structure or shape, appears also in any other cognitive act, including an act expressed in myth. It has been aptly formulated by an outstanding physicist and philosopher, C.F. von Weizsäcker: The structure is being created when it is being perceived, and it is being perceived when it is being created.<sup>6</sup>

This remark acquires an additional significance when social structures are the object of our perception. Creation of the perceived structure is then not only creation in the sense of a cognitive image, but also the transformation of reality itself. Sociology designates such phenomenon by the name of self-fulfilling prophecy, or, in other cases, self-fulfilling hypotheses. An example, may be provided by real depreciation of some currency in a situation where spenders lose faith in its value. Likewise, a social group grows stronger when it believes in its strength, and it gets more closely united when it believes in being closely united. Myth is called into being to fulfill that very specific role, consisting in that by its avowal, now truthful, it might enhance even more its genuineness. Thus, the myth of Europe, firmly based on its past, should create new facts in the future, the facts of community and cooperation.

The consciousness of historical community as a foundation of present and future European actions was expressed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security

and Cooperation in Europe. In the preamble of this document it is stated that: "The participating states (...), mindful of their common history, and recognizing that the existence of common elements in their traditions and values can aid them in the development of a mutual relationship, and desirous to seek, making full allowance for diversity and separateness of their attitudes and views, the possibilities of combining their efforts to overcome distrust and increase confidence, and solve problems which divide them, and to develop cooperation in the interest of mankind (...), have resolved" (here follows a declaration of principles governing the mutual relationship between participating states).

The Integrating Role of Mathematics in European Civilization. It may be well to use an example to show how one can enhance the myth of Europe in the interest of "European ecumenism." The selected example concerns an important matter, though it is almost unknown to the public at large. It is the role of exact sciences, especially that of mathematics in the European culture.

In mathematics, the expansion of imagination is linked with precise and rigorous thinking--and that is one of the decisive reasons of its importance for civilization. Such facts, as that at least one-half of the graduates of medieval universities, that is, graduates of philosophy and theology preceded by the study of philosophy (besides, there were physicians and lawyers), had a thorough grounding in mathematics, and medieval cathedrals had a complicated number symbolism encoded in their architecture, are very significant in the history of European culture. It is only natural that such a background had produced Copernicus, Galileo, or Kepler.

While cultivating consciously the myth of Europe, true to its historical reality, and which is to further shape the course of history, it is necessary in an immeasurably greater degree to take into account the history of the European thought, and in this history to bring into relief the leading role of mathematics and natural history along with the philosophy that inspired them. In reading the history textbooks for high school and academic youth, a picture of history emerges as a train of conquests, wars and political murders, which is a misleadingly one-sided picture. Only mentions are encountered of great achievements in science which changed the way of thought and life of mankind, and no analysis is made of causal dependences, whereas only due to such an analysis does history become the teacher of life.

If scientific thought were given its proper place in presenting the history of Europe, such an outlook would lessen the exaggeratedly emphasized differences between the East and West of our continent. It is true that in some measure they are culturally complementary regions, and that, for example, the spirit of the Orthodox Church has values unknown to the Latin Church, and the works of Dostoevskiy or Tolstoy contribute fresh trends of thought and emotion to European literature. It is, however, otherwise in scientific matters. In the sphere of scientific thought, the whole of Europe created values of the same type, characteristic of it and qualitatively different from the achievements of Chinese or Hindu science. European science is characterized by a boldness of mind which is capable of becoming detached from the sensory sphere to that of abstract ideas, and triumphantly descending to earth, encompassing

new regions of sensory experience with a theory and advancing technology a step forward.

From among several of the greatest revolutions in science, two occurred in the eastern regions of Europe: one in Polish Warmia in the 16th century due to Copernicus, and the second in Russian Kazan in the 19th century, due to Nikolay Lobachevskiy (the merit of the same discovery belongs also to a Hungarian, Jan Bolyai, who published his results in 1832, 2 years after Lobachevskian geometry demonstrates exactly that boldness of thought characteristic of European mathematics. He initiated a series of important results in geometry, which in fact influenced the further development of mathematics and physics and mathematical logic.

When the myth of Europe as an intellectual community expands, and when in this republic of knowledge an appropriate role is played by mathematics and its philosophical inspirations, in such a perspective the participation of Poland will prove to be especially significant, perhaps even more so than in the field of literature, music, fine arts or technical achievements. As a matter of fact, two of the world's schools of science bear the enduring designation of "Polish": the school of mathematics and closely connected with it, the logicophilosophical school. Thus, the further development of Polish mathematics and concern for the maintenance of its place in the world, and generalization of mathematical science in society are also the elements of the Polish reasons of state. This political concept was used here not metaphorically, but literally. Political position in the world depends on the strength which is represented by the given country. That may be its demographic, economic, diplomatic, or military potential, but it can be also its intellectual potential. The latter is to be reckoned for at least two reasons: In the first place, on it depends to a great extent technical and economic potential, and secondly, it entitles a nation to occupy a position of high standing in the community of Europe, the continent that the tradition of Europeanism teaches us to consider as a great intellectual community.<sup>7</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The formation process of the Europeanism idea is presented, among others, in the book by F. Chabod: "Storia dell'idea d'Europa," Bari, 1961. In Polish literature--cf M. Dobroczynski and J. Stefanowicz: *Tozsamosc Europy* [Identity of Europe], Warsaw, 1979.

This idea has, naturally, various current versions depending on the place in Europe from which it is being considered. The best known are two outlooks: The Soviet and the French (De Gaulle); but apart from them there are others, for example, the British and the Central European. As to the first one, see, for example, J. Biggs-Davidson: "The European Ideal," *SPECTATOR*, 1977, vol 239, No 7,779. The interesting exposition of the second of these conceptions is found in the essay of A. Dalmy: "Der Papst der liberalen Okumene," *EUROPEISCHE RUNDSCHAU*, 1980, VIII, No 1. The title of this essay speaks of the pope because the author of this essay represents John Paul II as an outstanding advocate of European unity, who perceives at

the same time a special role in it of the Central Europe (which the author among others connects with Cracovian origin of the pope). Similar thoughts concerning specificity, mainly economical, of the Central Europe are found in the article entitled: 'Gibt es 'Osteuropaer?' Und sind sie 'ruckstandig?' Gesprach mit dem Historiker Gyorgy Ranki, PANONIA, MAGAZIN FUR EUROPAISCHE ZUSAMMENARBEIT, 1979, VII, No 3.

2. cf, e.g., M. Dobroczynski and J. Stefanowicz, op. cit.
3. Understood in this way optimization requires an assumption that a certain measurement of values is possible. That problem, which is one of the themes of mathematical decision theory, is outlined for the general public in the book of W. Marciszewski: Poradnik dla niezdecydowanych [Handbook for the Undecided], Wroclaw, 1974, chapters II and III.
4. N. B. Tenzing: Czlowiek Everestu [Man of Everest], Warsaw, 1967, p 15.
5. cf C. Marchetti: From the Primeval Soup to World Government (An address given at the First World Hydrogen Conference),--reprint in the monthly ANTICIPATION (Geneva), 1979, No 23.
6. C. V. von Weizsacker: Einheit der Natur, Munchen 1971. Polish translation edited by Krzysztof Maurin, entitled: Jednosc przyrody [Unity of Nature], Warsaw 1978 (quotation taken from the editorial introduction of Polish translation, p 20).
7. Because of its philosophical connotation, the present essay omits the problem of chances for implementation of European in the current political realities. In this matter, the reader may refer to the article of J. Stefanowicz: Czy ponowny zmierzch Europy? [Is This Another Decline of Europe?], POLITYKA, 27 December 80. While I subscribe to the diagnoses and prognoses contained in it, I wish only to dissociate myself from its title which suggests, as does also the end of the article that potential European unity is at present endangered by various elements--beyond European control--of the world situation. At short range, it would be difficult not to admit the influence of these elements, but in the long run we should not lose sight of another factor, which is the will of Europeans themselves. To value this will is not a utopian voluntarism, since it stems from the sociological law of "self-fulfilling convictions," mentioned before. Since the common will comes into being from integration of aspirations of individuals, one could consider an eventual initiation in our country of a "Euro-club" conceived as an informal group, which would implement three tasks: 1) a selective--from the viewpoint of questions asked--creation of a data bank on European subject matter; 2) using that bank construction of compact and realistic conception of Europe and the role in it of our country; 3) winning for this conception circles represented by members of "Euroclub" and other groups in the country as well as abroad.

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SCOUT UNION COMMANDER INTERVIEWED BY 'PAP'

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 12 Jul 82 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Andrzej Ornat, scout commander of the Polish Scout Union by Wojciech Kazmierzak, PAP reporter: "Upbringing--the Most Profitable Investment," date and place not given]

[Text] A journalist from PAP talks with the Polish Scout Union Commander Andrzej Ornat, about problems of scouting and, generally, about the young generation in the context of the plenary session of the Central Committee devoted to youth.

[Question] Does the scouting movement need the plenary session of the Central Committee, the government program regarding conditions under which the young start their lives and careers, the whole, let us say, hullabaloo about the young and their affairs? After all, the Polish Scout Union is a rather insulated organization as far as its program is concerned. The youth can be brought up under any conditions depending on the situation of the sponsor (the state is scouting's sponsor) the only thing that needs to change is the way one operates....

[Answer] Scouting is an organization of children and youth, any hullabaloo about the youth and its affairs.... [line missing] Especially, if it deals with conditions under which the young generation start their lives and their careers and with the current social, political and moral situation. How could we be indifferent to what some call the crisis of values and what I would describe as the crisis of youth's perspective; how could we be indifferent to prospects of changes in the difficult situation of young Poles, including the youngest ones, the children, who practically do not have any other advocates except their organization? However, it is an essential task of all organizations, including scouting, to make sure that the hullabaloo, the rhetorics and the laudable resolutions are followed by action. It is getting green all over because green lights are being turned on for every cause. It is good to remember that where everybody has the green light, clashes of interests are unavoidable where the possibilities are so limited. What is worse, the youth, taught by the experience of those a little older, considers all the commotion to be just that--hullabaloo and not the beginning of real changes, not an element of a real program. And what good is the best program unless it gains the acceptance of potential beneficiaries?

In this question, I sense an intention of pushing the scouting movement to the sidelines--why scouting should be concerned with problems of the youth, some people think that most of its members are children. For them, children, youngsters in school, that is those who are not working yet, are just objects and not subjects of action. Such an attitude, though not new at all, may have strong negative repercussions later. This attitude feeds the ever active attempts to "cut to size" some organizations: this one is important because it is political, that one is less so because it is educational. Is education possible without politics, without ideological involvement? Or is good politics possible without education? I do not think so. Hence, scouting has always been and continues to be an educational organization and, at the same time, an ideological and political one.

The organization program being insulated--this is simply misunderstanding. The scouting program has never been and is not now insulated. Unless one calls "insulated" the needs, the interests and the expectations of the young. Also, there is nothing insulated about setting ideological and moral standards for scouts. Scouting is open to all but, and this should be emphasized, it is the only youth organization in Poland which in addition to a program, offers a young man a model, a set of ethical, moral and ideological standards with which a young man must comply if he wants to remain with us. Of course, results are not achieved immediately, achievements come gradually by working in the troop and in the patrol. Nobody is born perfect. The scout promise and scout law help. They represent values which are badly needed today not only by the young but also by adults.

Also, I do not agree with the thesis about changing the way one works depending on sponsor's conditions. In my opinion, the success of scouting educational method over a period exceeding 70 years is due to a certain universality of the scouting method and the scouting way of work. They change only when they have to be adjusted to the demands of changing times. They are not subject to passing fashions, they are based on the basic precepts of pedagogy and developmental psychology. It cannot be any other way.

[Question] Let us leave scouting aside for a moment and let us look more broadly at the problems of young generation. What is most important for youth today? What do they expect from the plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee?

[Answer] It is difficult to speak for a whole generation. One may make a mistake. It is easier to say what the young do not expect from the plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee. Certainly they do not expect another vision of magnificent Poland because they are realistic in estimating the chances of bringing such a vision about. Rather, they expect an honest diagnosis of the youth situation not only in the social area but also in the moral and political areas. The superficial opinions and judgments, widely disseminated recently, that the young were lured by the enemy propaganda and foreign social solutions are simply not persuasive. Youth probably expects a clear statement regarding safeguarding by the state of the standard of living of the young. Everybody would like to know what he can count on and what is not in the cards. The first thing that needs to be announced is

a program outlining what improvements can be expected in the living and professional starting conditions for the young generation. This is not just a question of how to allocate the shortages. There is an urgent need for implementing political decisions regarding education in Poland. Quality of education is deteriorating both in the villages and in the cities: the teaching cadre are deplorable, cultural activities by the young or for the young are practically nonexistent and mass sports are neglected. Expectations are high.

[Question] During a time when we must worry about our daily bread, are not such expectations excessive?

[Answer] The young do not expect the Central Committee resolution to suddenly solve all the problems. The thing that matters is how they think. Upbringing is the most profitable investment one can imagine. But, at the same time it cannot be postponed, it cannot wait until things are more plentiful because it is not just another manufacturing plant of prefabricated houses or automatic washers. There is a terrible price to pay for all the half- and quarter-measures as, for instance, the concept of the ten-year shool which was not thought through and was being implemented cheaply.

There is another matter which keeps coming up in any discussion about the youth, especially in any party discussions: this is the matter of the model of Polish youth movement. Despite the fact that the 9th Congress decided this matter unequivocally, we still have to deal with attempts to create just one monolithic organization which would be always "united and ready." But the youth movements which copied the monoparty system have not worked in the past. The youth is not monolithic and must not be forced into such a structure. It is simpler to accept that each organization has its specific tasks to accomplish in its own circles and that what counts are real achievements rather than loud shouts of approval.

[Question] What kind of scouting do you have in 1982? Do you, in the leadership of the Union, have a picture of an average scout? Do you know what he thinks? How he feels? What he needs? What he expects from the organization?

[Answer] Forst of all, scouting in 1982 is not homogeneous. There is no single diagnosis. At the same time, scouting is certainly more genuine than in the past. Many girl scouts and boy scouts have left. On the one hand, this has disappointed us but, on the other, this has impacted favorably the quality of scout activities. The genuine quality of scouting is shown by the return to tradition and, after the phase of fascination with the newly discovered history of scouting and its old experiences. We are moving to the phase of honest evaluation of all achievements of the seventy years of existance and we are reaching for the best methodological and programmatic solutions. Being conscious of the continuity of scouting tradition gives us extra strength to perform everyday chores and to deal with everyday problems. Scouting is more genuine because it approaches honestly the scout law and the scout promise, because it stresses the ideological and moral demands which we place on every member of the organization, including the instructors.

Like everybody else in these difficult times, we learn from our mistakes and we are rather quick. That is why scouting not only claims to be a truly voluntary organization but in fact is one. We are not worried at all that we have lost our monopoly in the post-elementary schools: competition helps us and so far we believe we are winning. We are thinking seriously about involving more rural youth (we have good relations with the Rural Youth Union) and more working youth and students in the scout activities. We have succeeded in sensibly combining politics and upbringing: we do not avoid difficult ideological and political choices facing the young but we do not offer solutions through lectures, talks and rhetoric but rather through action and getting to know the very complexity of reality.

Do we know what an average scout thinks, feels? No, we do not. On the basis of talking, of visiting the troops and the districts, we try to conceptualize. Then we try to "average out," but what we average are impressions not real knowledge. This is a problem that we share with others. For years, no research has been published on the subject of youth, its social status, its awareness and its opinions. This is a subject that should be brought up at the plenary session of the Central Committee. We have a variety of research institutes and the results of their efforts--if they indeed exist--must not be just filed away. It is puzzling that one can buy at a bookstore a book on the youth in the West but unfortunately not on the Polish youth.

[Question] After a period of organizational breakdown and groping for programmatic solutions, the Polish Scout Union as a whole appears to have regained its vigor and prestige among the young. What is the source of this rebirth?

[Answer] It may be premature to talk about the rebirth of scouting, about its regaining social prestige and the prestige among the young. There are signs that this is happening but we do not want to be too optimistic. It is true, however, that scouting pulled itself together after the crisis. Especially, the troops, patrols and scout groups became stronger and the real upbringing takes place exactly there.

Despite the hard times, we do not promise anything, we do not give away anything: not a token for laundromat, not a free issue of a youth magazine, to the contrary--we have demands. We tell them: whoever said it is easy to be a scout? And it turns out that the same youth that the adults so often judge to be without faith or honor, which is said to be passive and devoid of idealism, joins the scouting movement not because he is bribed with easy promises but encouraged by the prospect of being on a team with people who believe in the same set of values, who have the same manners and perhaps aspire to the same lifestyle. They are encouraged to join by a high standard and by the necessity to improve oneself in matters of morality and ideology. The young desire moral purity, they want a set of non-opportunistic values and they need examples--examples set by adults. How else can they be convinced that it pays to be an honorable, honest man?

POLAND

POZNAN 1956 EVENTS AND PZPR PERFORMANCE RECALLED; UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 24 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Jan Brygier: "How the Poznan Events Developed: From the Recollections of Jan Brygier"]

[Text] June 28, 1982 will mark 26 years since the tragic Poznan events. The memory of them is especially painful for those who experienced them personally. I was one of these people.

At that time I was working in the H. Cegielski Metal Industry Works, called the Jozef Stalin Works, in Poznan (in brief, ZISPO).

I went to work for Cegielski's for the third time in my life 7 August 1952. I was chief of the Technical Control Branch in one of the factories. I am a turner by profession. During the occupation, I worked as a loftsman, a machinist and a gear grinder.

A party member since 1927, I participated actively in party work at the plant. After working 1 year at the plant, I was elected to the PZPR Plant Committee and was made a member of the executive board of the PZPR ZISPO Plant Committee.

Thus I found myself at the center of events. What interests me most are the causes of the Poznan events. How they developed is the most important question for me. For 25 years, I have collected information about them. The purpose of this article is to reveal these causes.

The wave of resolutions made at the 3d Plenum and the 22d Congress of the KPZR [Communist Party of the Soviet Union] had a stimulating effect on the populace, including trade unionists. The ZISPO plant newspaper NA STALINOWSKIEJ WARCIE carried the following appeal 30 May 1956:

"To the ZISPO Trade Union Aktiv, the Seventh Plenum of the Central Council of Trade Unions has laid out the major directions and established the basic principles for stepping up the activities of union organizations serving the interests of working people. Since then, many plant councils have greatly improved their work with vital workers' issues. GLOS PRACY and PRZEGLAD ZWIAZKOWY are organizing a mail campaign for the Trade Union Aktiv.

"We would like answers to the following questions:

- "1) How do you defend the interests of workers and employees when their guaranteed rights are violated?
- 2) How do you supervise work force bhp [industrial safety and hygiene] conditions?
- 3) How is the work force at your plant ensured better and better working conditions?
- 4) What are you doing or planning to do to encourage competitiveness at work?
- 5) What inhibits bold actions taken by you to defend work force issues and interests?

I have no answers to the above appeal. However, I do know that for similar actions, 11 June 1956 the secretary of the Factory Committee [KF], comrade Zenon Begier and the chairman of the Plant Council [RZ], comrade Edmund Taszer were called from W-3 (a part of the plant complex) to a meeting of the Plant Committee [KZ] Executive Body to justify their behavior. This mainly concerned a mass meeting organized at W-3 and a letter sent to the Central Committee and the Director General of ZISPO. The recommendations and demands made at the mass meeting and included in the letter concerned: 1) the liquidated progressive bonus and the resultant significant reduction in earnings; 2) the demand to pay out the unjustly withheld wage tax; 3) wage increases for those working by the job and day laborers; 4) procurement of parts needed for production on time to enable work to proceed rhythmically, without a last minute rush; 5) the housing issue was brought up; and, 6) the cost of basic necessities was rising.

Comrade Czeslaw Konczal, a KW [Voivodship Committee] representative, stated that a party member must serve the party. He must always remember with whom, to whom and about what he is speaking. He must work to educate the people, because the situation at ZISPO and throughout the country is very difficult. An attempt is being made to wrest the leadership role away from the party. There is pressure to eliminate production cooperatives. The mass meeting at W-3 did not have a party atmosphere. It was marked by hostile overtones. We will not resolve people's complaints by appealing to the Central Committee. Everybody is jumping up and down. We do not have enough raw materials. What can be done? He promised help from the KW and the KM [Municipal Committee] for the ZISPO party organization for 2 weeks at least.

Things did not quiet down at ZISPO after this meeting. The agitation spread to the other ZISPO plants.

This situation caused the PZPR Plant Committee to call a consultation of the party aktiv 23 June 1956. Comrade Leon Stasiak, first secretary of the PZPR KW in Poznan represented the KW at the meeting.

Comrade Leon Stasiak began by reporting on the current situation in the country. He stated that the government was preparing a balance-sheet of the ground that had been covered and the mistakes that had been made. In concrete terms it was an accounting of the implementation of the 6-year plan and of the impact of the 20th KPZR Congress on the current situation in the country. Generally, we have not raised the living standard of workers. The defense needs of our country were the main reason that the goals envisaged in the six-year plan have not been attained. The imperialists do not recognize our western border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka; the Peace Movement is not an effective defense. We would have had to change various plans and approve additional investments. The rapid rate of Poland's industrialization has likewise had negative consequences. Many people have migrated from villages to the city.

This has meant a reduction in farm productivity per hectare. The urban housing shortage has become more severe due to the locating of industries in cities and the influx of workers.

Other errors of industrial development include too costly investments, a surplus of office workers and the pushing aside of the aktiv. We are trying to rectify our errors. We are moving to reduce investments and cut administrative costs. We want to increase wages by 5 billion zlotys, that is, by about 30 percent. We are awaiting the Seventh Plenum to take a decisive stand on this.

Comrade first secretary Leon Stasiak concluded his statement and everyone participating in the meeting proceeded to the new cafeteria. Here we encountered a crowd of angry workers. I do not remember whether there were 1,000 of them, or 1,500, or 2,000. People cried out that we should move to the street. Others shouted that a delegation should be elected to go to Warsaw and present the workers demands there, since this was where decisions were made.

After a while I addressed the workers. Then comrade Jan Majchrzycki, first secretary of the ZISPO PZPR Plant Committee spoke to them. Comrade Majchrzycki was a very discreet person, quiet and reflective. After he spoke, the workers calmed down and returned to their jobs.

We returned to the hall and resumed deliberations. We were aware that we had succeeded that day in preventing the workers from going out into the street. However, there was no assurance that this would happen again the next day. We agreed with the workers that Warsaw made the decisions. This is why we approved of the election of a delegation to go to Warsaw. We believed that it was essential for representatives of the directorate, the Enterprise Council and the PZPR KZ to accompany the delegates.

The plants elected their delegates 23 and 24 June 1956. W-3 chose 5 delegates: there were 17 worker delegates, and 27 people in all. I was not a member of the delegation. Comrade Jan Majchrzycki, KZ first secretary, represented the PZPR KZ. The 27-member delegation set out for Warsaw after the KZ PZPR meeting at ZISPO, 25 June 1956. In Warsaw the delegation was

met at the railroad station by a representative of the Main Board of the Metal Workers' Trade Union. He took the delegates to the union headquarters, where a conference was held 26 June 1956 from about 10 to 12. The delegates agreed to approach the Ministry of the Machine Industry together with representatives of the union authorities for the purpose of presenting work force demands. Talks with the minister of the machine industry lasted from 13 hours to 19 hours. Thirteen delegates and representatives of the union authorities and the ministry spoke there.

The discussion resulted in the establishment of a procedure for implementing the most important work force demands. It was also agreed that the ZISPO delegation would be accompanied in its return to Poznan by a group of responsible representatives of the Ministry and the Main Board of the Metal Workers Trade Union to prepare a working, on-the-spot report of work force demands.

Wednesday 27 June 1956, the ZISPO delegation returned by night train to Poznan and went to the plants. On that day, at about 11 o'clock, I was called in to the PZPR Plant Committee. Several members of the KZ Executive Body were there, including first secretary comrade Jan Majchrzycki, chairman of the Enterprise Council comrade Kazimierz Kosmowski and others. We went together to the director general, comrade Trzcionka. There we met minister comrade Roman Fidelski, deputy minister Demidowski, the director of the Wage Department, the director of the Minister's Cabinet, and from the Main Board of the Union of Metal Workers, comrade Bien and the secretary of the union, comrade Czerwinski. Other ZISPO directors also arrived and we held a joint deliberation.

There were to be meetings of all work forces in all ZISPO divisions at 14 hours, in between the first and second shifts. Each of these meetings was to be run by one of the Warsaw people and one of the KZ Executive Body members assisted by the elected work force delegates who had been in Warsaw the previous day.

Just before 14 hours we split up to go to the particular factories. We had agreed to return to the director general's conference hall after the meetings to share opinions. Minister Roman Fidelski went to the most dangerous section in W-3. Comrade Czerwinski went to W-6. I went to W-8. I do not remember who from Warsaw went with me. At W-8, both the first secretary of the PZPR KF and the chairman of the Plant Council were away somewhere letting off steam. The meeting was really being run by W-8 director Antczak. The W-8 meeting presented no special problems.

We waited for a very long time for Minister Fidelski to return. In my opinion, of us all he sensed the danger of the situation most clearly.

After the conference I went home. I do not know whether there were any more deliberations that day or whether any decisions were made.

I was at ZISPO a few minutes past 6 o'clock 28 June 1956. Some of the W-3 workers had already crossed Dzierzynski Street to W-4. The workers were

assembling near the main gate. I realized that the workers were going out into the street. I did not even go to my work station at W-8 but directly to the PZPR KZ. There I met first secretary comrade Jan Majchrzycki and several members of the PZPR KZ Executive Body. I told them: "I am going out into the street with the workers. If I have a chance, I will call you. I will inform you what is going on in town and how I am."

I went out into the street. The workers had already gone. I caught up with them beyond Traugutt Street, somewhere near Pamiatkowa Street. I marched together with the striking workers.

Today, 25 years later it seems to me that there were forces that were anxious to see this kettle called ZISPO get so heated up that it would explode.

I am still struck by the fact that the Poznan events were not a sudden, explosive occurrence. They were organized. The tram drivers said that the trams would stop running at 10 o'clock. The accidents at the ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops] speak for themselves. Thus, not all of the plants went out on strike by force. I saw how taxicabs were stopped and how passengers were forced out of the cars. Who directed the worker masses to come out onto Stalin Square? For what purpose was this done? I saw how comrade Krasko tried to speak and they would not let them. I saw how comrade Franciszek Frackowiak, the city mayor, tried to address the crowd in the castle courtyard, and only a few people listened. Thus, the contention that political and administrative leaders holed themselves up is not entirely true.

Who reported the false information that the Cegielski delegation had been arrested and was being held on Mlynska Street, that the Security Administration [UB] was holding the delegation on Kochanowski Street, and other lies? Who were these people and why did they do this? These are all questions that have not yet been fully answered.

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ROMANIA

EXISTENCE OF A 'ROMANIAN FASCISM' DISPUTED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 9 Jul 82 p 3

[Article by Constantin Sorescu]

[Text] Following the two lampoons published by Radu Ioanid entitled "The General and the Particular in the Analysis of Fascism" (inVIATA STUDENTEASCA Nos 21 and 22, Wednesday 26 May and Wednesday 2 June 1982, respectively) I waited a week, two, three for the author to publish a third one in which he would retract several of his previous assertions or at least to "color" them. A wait in vain, for the erratum was not produced.

Because in the crooked equation with which Radu Ioanid wishes to show that no more or no less than a "Romanian fascism" existed in interwar Romania, writers (Octavian Goga), historians of culture and literature (P. P. Panaitescu) and philosophers (Constantin Noica) of the highest value were introduced, not only "professional" but also moral, the historian and literary critic, even when he appears before the readers as an analyst, has the moral duty to intervene in order to reestablish the truth. But let us see what Radu Ioanid wants.

He started out with what he should have finished with: the assertion that, yes, a Romanian fascism existed. This is a first problem of method!

However, let us pass over the methodological scruples and follow his demonstration. He rejects both explanations at the opposite poles which were given to the phenomenon of fascism in Romania (a reticent formula belonging to me!): It was not a "phenomenon of import" and neither what Dimitrov maintained: "the bold terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic elements of financial capital." If it is not one or the other, then what is the fascism of interwar Romania? Radu Ioanid wants to show what Z. Ornea also intended: that fascism in interwar Romania is original, that is, Romanian.

Meticulously and orderly, he fixes the two coordinates through an analysis of which one can reach the goal proposed: "We feel that there are two key points which, once they have been ignored or eluded, with certainty insure that a bad interpretation of fascism is obtained. One of the points refers to the study of the mass base and social component of the fascist movement, while the other-- to the place and role of the petit bourgeoisie in the rise of the fascist phenomenon, to the attitude and way that the petit bourgeoisie relates to fascism

throughout time." I was waiting for a demonstration which was just as ambitious as the point of departure. However, Radu Ioanid does not need arguments. To show that a "Romanian fascism" existed and that it had a "mass base" seems to him a trifle which he resolves with a single sentence! He opens the book entitled "The Economic and Political Life of Romania, 1933-1938" (Bucharest, 1978) by Emilia and Gavrila Sonea, to page 270, and he remembers that in December 1937, the "All for the Country" party obtained 478,378 votes, representing 15.5 percent of the votes, while the National Christian Party obtained 281,167 votes, representing 9.15 percent of the same total of votes. He records these figures (which, according to his figuring, make "nearly one-half million" but which actually are up to 750,000 votes!) and, without blinking an eye, he concludes: "One-fourth of the active electorate of Romania voted with fascism." Short and sweet! Without a sociological analysis of the statistics, without expressing any doubt, without other references, without arguments and even leaving the impression that the historians Emilia and Gavrila Sonea were of the same opinion. Radu Ioanid certainly is sure of himself!

Actually, one should not have to tire his eyes except for several dozen pages in this same book in order to become convinced of the contrariness of his conclusion. However, I, who read the book from one end to the other, have to repress the desire to express the conclusion I found at the end of the lesson in order to first summarize the solid analysis which the two historians make of the machination which guided the result of the selections named with diabolical ability. Therefore...

Therefore, about the elections mentioned, on one hand the historic parties were decided to diminish the reputation each enjoyed and to mutually hinder them from winning and, on the other hand, King Carol II wanted to do everything to compromise them, in the wish of establishing "a new political regime under the form of royal dictatorship" (op. cit., p 247). Guided by his court clique, he was trying to oppose the historic parties precisely with the fascist-type organizations, encouraging them and subsidize them. However, it was also the interest of Prime Minister Gh. Tatarascu to bring a false rise in vote in favor of the rightist organizations: "In order to increase his chances even more for keeping himself in power in continuation, the head of the government posed at the same time as a defender of King Carol II under pretext of not allowing himself to be uncovered before the agitations organized by the opposition. In this position, Gh. Tatarascu especially had in mind the Iron Guard, who could obtain the achievement of a joint front of all the right groupings, which would have led not only to endangering of the monarchy's prestige, already deteriorated, but, in particular, to counterbalancing the relationship of forces in disfavor of the National Liberal Party in the coming elections. In the case of such an evolution of the political situation, Gh. Tatarascu was willing to "sacrifice" himself if, of course, the sovereign would have requested this" (idem, , p 243). A "success" in quotes! for the fascist organizations also would have been profitable for I. Maniu who, however, wanted to "utilize them in the interest of the circles they represented" (idem., p 260). Emilia and Gavrila Sonea for more credibility even quote from "the statement by I. Maniu following conclusion of the pact, in which he stated that through collaboration and giving political credit to the Iron Guard he sought two things which he achieved: "First," I. Maniu said, "to throw Mr Tatarascu into the elections and, second, to bring to the surface those forces which until

then were working underground, hidden, in the dark so we cannot know them" (idem., pp 261-262).

The main consequence of this policy was confusion among the electorate: "The credit given to the Iron Guard as well as the statements by the leader of the National Peasant Party, his refusal to collaborate with the democratic forces in depositing joint lists were acts to encourage the fascist forces, particularly the Iron Guard movement. At the same time, the pact concluded with the Iron Guard produced great disorientation among the masses and considerably hindered the delimiting of democratic forces from the fascist ones, giving credit to the idea adopted by a portion of the masses on the usefulness of cooperating with fascism against the national liberal government" (idem., p 262). Those who have the vaguest idea about the relationship between the leadership of the bourgeois parties and the mass of members understands that in December 1937 that portion of the electorate who gave its votes to the fascist organizations did so because they were requested to do so by the leaders of the National Peasant Party, actually not voting for "Everything for the Country" and the National Christian Party, but, rather, against the national liberal government. In no way does it result from the figures which Radu Ioanid reproduces without any aim that the fascist organizations had as many supporters as the number of votes they had succeeded in "obtaining."

The prompting of the National Peasant Party does not represent the only motivation for the success of the electoral masquerade in December 1937. Emilia and Gavrila Sonea stress the fact that the fascist organizations "used all possible methods in order to overturn the liberal government in the elections and to obtain power" (idem., p 257). The most inoffensive method was demagogic propaganda: "The leadership of the Iron Guard movement, through demagogic statements, were attempting to put the halo of defenders of the offended and exploited nation on their heads, appealing to the outraged feelings of the masses" (ibidem). With a wealth of detail, Emilia and Gavrila Sonea also describe the "terrorist methods" (p 267 and following) which the Iron Guard used in the election campaign: the formation of "Iron Guard teams which would carry out hostile propaganda," sentencing of "politicians for their anti-Iron Guard attitude" "in secret," "terrorist demonstrations and threats" of all kinds, "incidents" taking "the voting cards with force," declaring many locations as off limits, putting some residents on the election lists two times even deceased persons and so forth. In the end, they stress that "through the attempts made to falsify the result of the elections, the king intended to go beyond the electoral body, beyond the House and Senate in order to fulfill his political plans" (op. cit., p 269). Which would also happen. Emilia and Gavrila Sonea show that I. Maniu himself represented the entire machination which Carol II had put in order in order to facilitate the "victory" of the fascist organizations. The demonstration deserves to be reproduced: "In the speech which I. Maniu gave in Bucharest, he showed that the political situation created was due to the fact that a personnel government was ruling in Romania. "For seven years," the leader of the National Peasant Party said, "we have been suffering from a hidden power, from a court clique whose visible and felt head is a woman: Mrs Lupescu." "Long live democracy, down with the dictatorship; down with Mrs Lupescu, long live national dignity" (idem., p 266). The information about the evil role which Elena Lupescu played in maneuvering the Iron Guard organizations even is in the chapter from which Radu Ioanid takes the two figures: The parliamentary elections of December 1937-- a decisive point in changing the orientation and general political life of Romania.

Going directly to the table, to the blind figure, the signer of the article "The General and the Particular in the Analysis of Fascism" eludes what is hidden there. The two historians, whom under compulsion he takes as partners in his thesis according to which fascism in Romania had a "mass base," maintain exactly the opposite: the fascism in interwar Romania did not have a mass nature for the elementary reason that the trick votes, the dead and the terrorized voters or those mislead for a day are not the same thing as fascists. Therefore, there is no question of there being a "Romanian fascism!"

But the ambitious Radu Ioanid wants to argue with what Z. Ornea did not succeed in doing: that "Romanian fascism" had "fascist doctrinarians such as A. C. Cuza, Octavian Goga, C. Z. Codreanu, Mihail Polihroniade, Traian Braileanu, Al. Cantacuzino, Nicolae Rosu, Vasile Marin and so forth" and "leaders, doctrinarians or Iron Guard journalists like C. Z. Codreanu, Ion Mota, Nae Ionescu, Traian Braileanu, P. P. Panaiteescu, Constantin Noica, Dan Botta, Radu Gyr." Without any so forth in this last list! Passing through these two lists of names, the trained eye notes the bad faith and imposture. But the untrained eye, that of the ordinary reader of VIATA STUDENTEASCA, the student and high school student? Without any consideration, high-ranking personalities of Romanian culture, philosophy and literature are abusively regimented into an ideology which by far does not absorb the major significance of their cultural work. Can Octavian Goga be placed next to Zilinschi-Brauner? Undoubtedly, he was one of the leaders of the National Christian Party, a party of fascist tint, but can one say this to the readers, particular young ones, without stating that the fascism which he professed was a mistake and not a personality trait? Can the poet of Transylvania's suffering be called a "fascist doctrinarian" without at least reproducing a portion of the opinions of the era according to which anti-Semitism was a parody, "unserious" (according to the expression of Tudor Teodorescu-Braniste), unstructured? Without showing that both he as well as P. P. Panaiteescu, Constantin Noica and Dan Botta were not terrorists, murderers and bullies? I add one more to all these perplexities: the "scholar" Radu Ioanid believes that by reading Constantin Noica one can reestablish the "particular" nature of "Romanian fascism"? If he wants to demonstrate this, he should appeal to the true leaders and doctrinarians of the fascist organizations in interwar Romania. Even he names Vasile Marin. He names him but he does not quote him. However I shall quote him: "La Garde de Fer est un organisation politique nationaliste, dont l'ideologie est inspiree par un fascisme adopte," Vasile Marin confessed to Charles Maurras in a letter (IDEEA ROMANEASCA II, No 5, 1937, pp 14-15). That same Iron Guard "founder" was the author of the brochure entitled "Creed of a Generation," in which he used Nietzsche to attack liberalism, Spengler to challenge European civilization and Hegel to storm against "the capricious creator" in history! In the foreword to the brochure, signed by Zilinschi-Brauner as well as in the commentary at its appearance, due to Ion Vasile (in the same issue of IDEEA ROMANEASCA), it is stated firmly that no fascist "doctrine" existed in Romania. The assertion was being made by the most authorized representatives of the fascist organizations and was even being made in the election year whose statistics Radu Ioanid branded as false.

So, if a "Romanian fascism" did not exist, why does Radu Ioanid want to show that it did exist? If the fascism in interwar Romania was not of a mass nature,

why does Radu Ioanid torture himself to scrape together a "mass base" later? If the leaders of the fascist organizations in the same interwar Romania maintain that they did not want and did not have their own "doctrine," why does Radu Ioanid want to form it in 1982? Questions and answers, history and method.

P. S. I cannot help but express two perplexities: "What are the historians really doing if we, who work with tools of aesthetics, have to combat such aberrations? 2) At the same time, what are the specialty magazines doing? We await their viewpoint.

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ROMANIA

DEFICIENCIES IN IDEOLOGICAL-EDUCATIONAL SPHERE CITED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10 20 May 82 pp 1-3

[Unsigned article: "A Revolutionary Spirit in All Ideological-Educational Activities"]

[Text] The 12th RCP Congress paid special attention to political-ideological activities and educational work in the light of the defining characteristics and social-economic tasks of the current stage of Romania's multilateral development.

The new historic type of social relations, founded on the public ownership of the means of production and the community of economic, political and cultural interests, the broad democratization of state and public affairs, the creation of numerous organs for direct participation in political affairs, the introduction of the principle of worker self-management and the affirmation of socialist ideology as the dominant ideology in society represent objective and subjective factors that are working in the creation of the people's new moral-political profile, requiring, at the same time, an intensification of political-educational activities and the raising of these activities to new qualitative levels.

Through the content of its ideas and through its giant capacity to influence the awareness of the masses, the party's ideology works as a powerful motive force in social progress and in the revolutionary education of the masses of workers. The programmatic documents and all the activities of the Romanian Communist Party show that man stands in the center of its policies, along with his aspirations for well-being and happiness. Carried out in a programmatic manner and directly guided and led by the party, ideological activities pursue the creation of the new man who has a high awareness, a man characterized by firmness and high political and professional competence.

Conducted under the leadership of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the party, the recent working session of the RCP Central Committee and the meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP CC of 15 May 1982 analyzed activities in industry and agriculture, establishing appropriate measures for the elimination of shortfalls and shortcomings in each area, for the ever more powerful expression of intensive factors in the development of material production and for the raising of our socialist economy to the level of great

possibilities that it has at its disposal. Raising the level of all of the political-ideological activities of the party organs and organizations, in close connection with production, is an imperative requirement for the purpose of achieving state plan tasks for this year and the entire five year plan under superior conditions of quality and efficiency.

The party is the force that unites the efforts of all the people for the purpose of achieving the economic-social development program, which elaborates, on the basis of generalizing social practices, the scientific concept regarding the progress of socialist society. It is, thus, the fundamental political-ideological factor of society, and in this capacity it develops the scientific materialist-dialectical and historical concept about the world and life on the basis of the newest advances of science, pursuing the continuing and multilateral progress of socialist society. The use of the superiority of socialism is closely connected to the party's activities and to the implementation of the laws of social-economic development under the conditions in our country, in the context of the phenomena and processes characteristic of the contemporary era.

Theoretical-ideological activity begins with the requirements for a critical, open analysis of our own social experience, as well as international experiences, in order to discriminantly incorporate the new values of economic, social, political and human development and the advances of science, and in order to eliminate old, retrograde elements, actively and militantly participating in the exchange of ideas in the contemporary world in the context of developing revolutionary theory and diversifying the paths of social progress. The analysis of the phenomena and changes in socialist Romanian society and in the contemporary world has permitted an innovative, open approach to the theoretical and practical problems of social progress, as broadly reflected in the Party Program and in the works of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. Major themes, such as the status of the social-economic development of the country during each stage, the dialectics of the general-particular relationship and the objective-subjective relationship in social affairs, the creation and the development of the technical-material base of the new order, the physionomy of the social and class structure of Romania, the broadening of socialist and workers democracy, the role of the nation in the current stage and the resolution of the nationality problem in Romania, the genesis and mechanism of contradictions in socialism, the dynamics and complexity of creating a progressive awareness, the economic-social processes specific to contemporary times and the requirements for applying certain new principles in the relations between communist and workers parties and between countries represent significant contributions in the theoretical generalization of social practices.

Under the aegis of the creative spirit in ideological-educational affairs, there has been an intensification of research work in the social sciences, party propaganda and in social educational activities in general.

Especially during the years that have passed since the Ninth RCP Congress, there has been an effervescence in theoretical thinking through the approach to and the further study of the problems of socialist construction and international

affairs. As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed, the party "decisively broke with the old, dogmatic and rigid concepts, taking a firm attitude against all those things that no longer correspond to the new economic-social conditions and promoting courageously those things that are new in all fields." This innovative spirit left its powerful impact upon political-ideological activities. And, although significant results have been obtained in the discussion, clarification and mastery of certain political and theoretical problems and in the process of socialist education, there still are shortcomings in the activities for the theoretical and ideological preparation of communists and the workers.

Having evaluated that ideological-educational activities have fallen behind the other achievements of socialist construction, the 12th Party Congress drew up clear guidelines and specific tasks regarding propaganda work, education, literary and artistic creative activities, and the press and radio-television for the purpose of contributing to improving the content and forms of socialist education for the masses, to affirming the ideas of scientific socialism and to better using their transformational forces.

From this point of view, there is special importance in the development of the people's revolutionary thinking as a living and daring thinking that is opposed to any type of isolation and intransigence towards retrograde ideologies, expressing the principles of scientific socialism as creatively applied to the specific conditions in Romania and the contemporary world. Activities in this field are powerfully stimulated by the fact that our party's ideas and theoretical concepts stem from a profound mastery of revolutionary dialectics, from the effort to decipher the objective requirements of social development and from a permanent receptiveness to new phenomena and problems. All this brings new responsibilities regarding theoretical creative activities and ideological activities that are called upon to examine head-on the problems of the current stage and to contribute to clarifying them and to raising the level of the political-ideological training of party members and the working masses.

Research in the social sciences and theoretical activities in general shows, unfortunately, a slowness, a certain timidness and, sometimes, a routine spirit in dealing with the problems facing our socialist society and that are on the "agenda" of the discussions specific to our era. For example, although there is much talk about the existence of contradictions in socialism and about the ways of overcoming them, there is still little attention given to concretely understanding them and their consequences on the level of the people's mentality and behavior and to eliminating negative phenomena in the activities of certain leadership organs and institutes and the awareness and activities of certain personnel and citizens. In order to be well understood, there has not been sufficient attention given to the theoretical and practical problems of the operation of the new economic-financial mechanism, worker self-management, economic self-administration and the carrying out of the new agricultural revolution. Problems of major importance, such as the style and methods of political leadership, the dialectics of developing our society in the future and the different aspects of Romania's experiences in socialist construction, are still not covered satisfactorily in political-ideological work.

In our party's view, ideological and political-educational activities involve a revolutionary theory of dialectical and historical materialism that is designed to help not only in understanding the world, but also in arming the entire party, its militants and all the members of the party with the knowledge necessary to carry out conscious actions for transforming society. Thus, there is the essential requirement for this activity to give greater attention to the real problems of the world and to create from the knowledge and mastery of the party's revolutionary concept an efficient means of continuing to raise the workers' level of thinking and acting, of developing their ability to understand the new and of militating in the revolutionary spirit for applying the new.

The ability of the party's policies and ideology to penetrate the masses depends upon the efforts of the party organs and organizations to improve the forms and means of political-educational work in accord with the requirements of life and in an indissoluble link with social-economic practice. In this sense, the essential criterion for the efficiency of education resides, in the final analysis, in the contribution towards the mobilization and unification of the efforts of all the people for the achievement of the Party Program, the economic-social development plan and each collective's tasks in the current five year plan.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu noted at the plenary session of the RCP Central Committee in March, the general development of the country demonstrates the influence that political-educational work exercises in our socialist society, while the existing shortcomings in many fields also show the serious shortfalls in ideological activities in general. Thus, in some party organizations there is still a poor concern for carrying political work in close connection with economic problems and an insufficient care for subordinating political-ideological education, person-to-person political work and written and oral propaganda to the achievement of plan tasks. There also still are tendencies towards formalism and superficiality and a lack of combativeness against violations in production, waste, negligence and indiscipline.

As was stressed at the recent working conference of the RCP Central Committee and the session of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee, the social-economic objectives contained in the 1982 plan and for the entire five year plan also involve - in addition to material efforts - the need for them to be permanently sustained by all the party work and by political-educational activities. For that reason, mass political activities and propaganda are called upon to place greater stress upon the study and generalization of positive experiences and advanced initiatives and methods for the fulfillment of tasks to reduce production costs and the consumption of raw materials, energy and fuels under optimum conditions, for the continuing growth of labor productivity and for the improvement of product quality and the raising of their technical-economic performance levels.

By virtue of its revolutionary essence, socialist awareness is above all else a political awareness. The man of our society cannot but be a political man

and a social militant. In the current era, an era not only of certain social-economic and scientific changes, but also of certain political changes and certain broad ideological confrontations, man's thinking and awareness are markedly political.

Sometimes it is felt, erroneously, that the efficiency of propaganda can be measured by the number and frequency of actions that are taken. But, the ability of political work and propaganda to influence lies in its ability to unleash qualitative changes in the way people think and to bring about progressive opinions, convictions, attitudes and behaviors and the creation of a climate of principledness and social optimism.

The climate of affirming advanced ideas in each collective and the formation of a current of receptive, stimulating public opinion in relation to new solutions of high efficiency are expressed as one of the basic conditions for social creativity and is indissolubly linked to professional and political-ideological training and to the mastery of the dialectical materialist concept regarding the world and society.

In comparing the level of ideological affairs to the current requirements and to the growing tasks and responsibilities of the party organs and organizations, the need to give political-ideological work a pronounced combative nature is seen as a current demand.

As an expression of certain limits in development and of certain imperfections, contradictions and inherent immaturities at the level of certain branches or sub-branches of the economy and certain human groupings, there continues to be some negative manifestations in the manner of thinking and behavior in certain members of society - theft from public property, acts of hooliganism, tendencies towards illicit accumulation of wealth, a lack of concern in professional training, poor quality work and mystical-religious practices, including those under the "aegis" of certain illegal sects. Such manifestations require that political-educational activities meet the requirements of each collective and, in the final analysis, each individual so that, on the basis of political and moral truths, it can weaken and eliminate the erroneous convictions of certain citizens and help them to reconsider themselves and self-critically re-evaluate their retrograde, mystical and religious opinions, ideas and convictions.

Our party's and state's position regarding religion and cults is known, but the conditions created for them for a normal, natural activity cannot be confused with the "freedom" to set forth irrational concepts and practices and to cultivate certain anti-social attitudes. Actually, combating any type of retrograde tendencies and orientations and revealing their mystical basis, which in the end are anti-human - as proved by certain attempts to transform some cults into instruments for interfering in the internal affairs of different countries, represent a principled exigency for rationalist, humanist thinking. In our party's view, as comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stresses, "religion should not and cannot get involved in politics; any attempt to do this must be combated, since whether it wants to or not in this way it becomes an instrument in the hands of reactionary elements."

A special role in materialist-scientific education and in the formation of a materialist-dialectical, consistent-atheist philosophical concept is played by the social sciences, which are designed to contribute to the enrichment of the workers' knowledge not only with new explanations stemming from the investigation of social realities, but also, at the same time, offering conclusions and solutions for their practical activities.

Educational actions are even more valuable and efficient when they aim not only at combating certain poisonous phenomena, but also at preventing and eliminating them. In this regard, it is necessary for the party organizations, the Union of Communist Youth organizations and the ideological institutes to report negative phenomena, to include in their work precisely those persons who need help, guidance and correction in their behavior and, in a word, to not neglect the formation of a combative, mass opinion against negative deeds and manifestations.

An ever more important place in the creation of the new man and in raising the level of political-ideological training is held by science and culture. Arming young people and all workers with the new discoveries of science, which demonstrate the material nature of the world and the justness of dialectical materialism, represents a fundamental means for creating socialist awareness. This is, at the same time, an imperative requirement of the contemporary era.

Socialism assimilates at the highest level advanced humanist cultural and artistic values and scientific, rationalist and atheist values, enriching and elevating the spiritual life of the people of our society. The progress of culture and science and the people's mastery of their achievements lead to the enrichment of ideas of socialist awareness and constitute, at the same time, factors for raising the level of political-ideological training to a constantly higher point.

Under the conditions of socialism, culture, both in its relationship to creating new values and to the spread and assimilation of the values that are created, receives new dimensions, finding its principal reason for existing in the social humanist efficiency. In this regard, art and literature are called upon to be clearly structured around a unique nucleus - the new type of man - and to satisfy his specific requirements, requirements stemming from the practice of building the new social order. Socialist culture cannot fulfill its important civic and patriotic mission without permanently exercising its role as a modeller of awareness and without carrying out a sustained political education in the spirit of the high principles of socialist ideology and ethics.

From this point of view, literary-artistic creation, based upon a materialist-dialectical concept, must accurately reflect social-historical reality, actively contributing to the innovative, progressive transformation of society and man.

In revealing the significance of literary-artistic creation in social life, the party feels that, at the same time, increased attention must be given to stimulating and understanding scientific and technical creations and the workers' material creations, which have a decisive role in ensuring the forward movement of society. The "Song of Romania" Festival shows the broad creative scope of the popular masses and stimulates to the highest degree the participation of all those who work in material and spiritual creation. Conceived as a means of ideological-educational activities in all fields, this festival is designed to be an expression of a powerful affirmation of all the workers' will to create and to lift the country to new peaks of progress and civilization.

Placing man at its center and having as its goal the creation of the new man and his multilateral spiritual enrichment, the ideological activities and the political-educational work carried out by the party contribute to the progress and prosperity of the country and to the powerful affirmation of socialist humanism. "As we have better results in raising the ideological level of the communists and the party cadres and the political-educational level of the popular masses, so will there be an increase in the party's power and its leading role, so will there be a strengthening of the unity of all our people under the leadership of the party, and so will we be able to ensure the ever more decisive forward movement of our country," stresses comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

The leading role of the party and the growth of its role, including its ideological, political and educational roles, must be understood not at a general level, but at an actional, specific and efficient level, with this role finding its expression in the militant, combative spirit of each party organization and each communist under all circumstances. The party organizations, their members and the political leadership cadres are a powerful innovative force not only through their attributes and responsibilities in all the sectors of their activities, but also through their ability to resolve, convince, unify and mobilize the broadest and most diverse categories of workers in the practical fulfillment of the party's policies.

The increase in the requirements regarding activities for raising the political-ideological level of the masses is in close relation to the responsible, party spirit within which the party organizations, mass and public organizations and all cultural-educational institutes operate. Precisely for that reason, the party has established a group of measures for the purpose of increasing the responsibilities of all the educational authorities, including the unified management of all political-educational work carried out along party lines, as well as along the lines of the mass and public organizations, ideological institutes, research institutes in the field of social sciences, educational and cultural-educational institutes and means of mass information.

The indissoluble connection of theoretical-ideological activities to the requirements of life and the creative, innovative, militant spirit are

characteristics which the documents of the 12th Congress, the Party Program and the speeches of the secretary general doggedly give to political-educational work. Our socialist society has everything necessary to solve the most complex problems, and the passionate revolutionary spirit which the party cultivates, its indissoluble link with the people and the unshakable unity of the people around the party constitute the factors which guarantee the full commitment for fulfilling the objectives established by the 12th Congress.

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#### NEW DEMANDS PLACED ON ATHEISTIC EDUCATION

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10 20 May 82 pp 16-19

[Article by Dr A. Cernea of Satu Mare, Ana Balasa of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, Dr Ion Batlan of IMF Bucharest and Dr Alexandru Suciu of Brasov: "Materialist-Scientific, Atheistic Education Faced With Certain Increased Requirements"]

[Text] Based upon a revolutionary, materialist-dialectical and historical concept and upon the new advances in knowledge, the political-educational activities carried out by our party are essentially directed towards science and towards arming the people with the most advanced moral and scientific concepts. Materialist-scientific and, stemming from this point, the creation of atheistic convictions in young people and all the workers, and the elimination of backwards mentalities and the state of mystical and obscurantist spiritual tendencies represent a priority task for socialist education. The articles that follow below call attention to certain conclusions resulting from field sociological research regarding atheistic education, and formulate some opinions for the continuing improvement of political-educational activities in this field.

#### Atheistic Education Between An Illuminist Mentality and Reality

Dr A. Cernea of Satu Mare

The concern for the discussion of the problem regarding overall socialist education activities and, within this framework, atheistic education is of the greatest importance and current relevancy, keeping in mind the dynamics of the social phenomena that are implicated and the increases in knowledge and experience resulting from the development and considerable updating of the framework of interpretation and from the innovative ideas and theses formulated and promoted by our party.

In the context of the series of articles recently published in this regard by ERA SOCIALISTA, we should note the significance of the analysis of the content of the ideas and programs of atheism.\* Unfortunately, on this level

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\* See: "The Materialist-Scientific Education of the Masses, A Major Dimension of Culture," No 16/1980; "The Place of Materialist-Scientific [continue on next page]

the idea was put forth that the structural change in social awareness and the decisive outlining and affirmation of atheist, unalienated awareness were influenced only by the mission of the educational factors, minimizing or ignoring the decisive formative role of the social system and the objective factors of our own socialist existence. Furthermore, the content and significance of atheism was "pushed" towards the ideas and knowledge in the natural sciences, especially physics, chemistry, biology and so forth - which is a good thing - but it lost sight of the original, Marxist understanding of social existence and the determining role of overall social praxis in the formation of people. The consistent failure to take into consideration the idea content and radically different finality conferred by Marxism to atheism has led to a stretching of the etymological meaning of atheism and, as a result, has reduced its implications to polemics with theist concepts and mysticism, which brings about an attenuation of the content and constructive, positive functions inherent in the revolutionary atheistic spirit.

Paralleling the repudiation of certain outdated, obsolete thesis and certain simplistic interpretations of materialist-dialectical and historical concepts, it is necessary, in my opinion, to reject certain formulas and cliches that have circulated and are still circulating in writings and in activities to popularize science. At the same time, it is necessary to eliminate the illuminist mentality that produces statistics regarding the number of actions, participants and so forth and that generates superficial optimism, the appreciation of religion in textbooks, in works involved in popularization or in speech as a simple form of social awareness or as an ideology torn away from the specific-historical context or from the other manifestations of the spiritual life of groups and individuals, its consideration as the most independent of the economic base and so forth. Corrections and nuances must be brought to all these elements of interpretation. Similarly, it is necessary to intensify concerns to satisfy certain collective and individual perennial needs which have received throughout the centuries a religious "modelling" and thus appear as something specifically religious.

Certainly, we are referring to the needs for solemnity, ceremonies and integration in micro-groups, to the festive celebration of certain moments in the people's lives, but also to deeper aspects that deal with social communication and certain physical characteristics or phenomena, such as, for example, the subject of death as well as other more delicate areas of our own human condition in general. Individually and all of them taken together, these aspects

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Education in the Socialist Culture," No 4/1981; "Permanence and Differentiation in the Process of Materialist-Scientific Education," No 18/1981; "Marxist Atheism and Socialist Awareness," No 21/1981; "The Requirements of an Atheistic Education Substantiated on An Understanding of Religious Phenomena," No 7/1982.

require a laborious effort to replace, take over and, especially, initiate and exercise the new social-cultural means and instruments that will satisfy the human needs specific to the new man.

Within this framework, we can note the need to eliminate certain "imprints" left behind by religious spirit and doctrine upon the secular systems of thinking. Among these, alienating consequences are presented by teleologism, ethicism, utopianism, sacralizing tendencies and so forth.

There is special importance in the current understanding and judicious use of the specific mechanism of mastering the revolutionary, atheistic concepts. If at the macrosocial level the noted spiritual restructuring takes place gradually within the framework of an historical process, at the individual level we are talking about a sufficiently exact option localized in time, which involves anxieties and sometimes dramatic deliberations which, once they are produced, are difficult to modify. It is without a doubt that the analysis and evaluation of the content and consequences of this situation deserves full attention since there is broad significance in the idea for the need of a better understanding and using of these periods of life, especially in activities with children, with adolescents, working in a differentiated manner with those who were subjected to religious influences, as well as those who were not the object of a mystical education.

The atheistic spiritual profile and the particularities and difficulties in its configuration and unified make-up represent a subject that requires new research, going beyond the level of a simplistic approach and the clear tone in some popularizing works. First of all, the atheistic spirit in fact involves a new spiritual matrix that is structurally different from the mystical-magical, religious matrix. The basic problem of the coherence and strength of the atheistic spirit calls for the building of a totally desacralized and unalienated awareness. The central feature that we can note is the crystallization of a different type of exigency for atheism regarding the quality of social and interhuman relations.

It is clear that the materialistic-dialectical and historical spirituality imposes its superiority of content and message with regards to any of the religious or fideist efforts. At the same time, the fact is well-known and broadly recognized that the limitation and elimination of the role of religious concepts can be nothing but a positive effort, a spiritual and moral restructuring, an effective mastery and generalization of the new concepts about the world and life. Some detractors of Marxism claim that dialectical and historical materialism has the nature and mission of a new religion. But, the dialectical-materialist concept is not a myth, nor a speculative construction, nor a manipulated ideology or a simple political program of a government. On the contrary, it is the most advanced theoretical-cognitive ensemble in our era, one which responds to the commandments of history and modern and contemporary social experience and knowledge and which directs the actions of the broad masses for the building of a new civilization and for the inauguration and affirmation of history itself.

## Specific Sociological Research and the Efficiency of Education

Ana Balasa of the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy

In recent years, the atheistic education of the workers has been required as an important subject for the theoretical reflection and practical action in the development of the socialist awareness of the masses and in the creation of the human personality. The special complexity of the problem has been shown and some unilateral approaches in practical activities were criticized. It was shown, for example, that there had been an exaggeration of the role of scientific education in the formation of an atheistic concept, rightly arguing that the renunciation of religion is not always a consequence stemming directly from scientific culture and general instruction. There has been stress upon the need for philosophical education and the fact has been stressed that the moral problems of man have been neglected. Similarly, it seems that both in theoretical efforts and in educational actions there has been an attempt to move the stress from the effort to "recover" those who are under the influence of the mystical-religious concepts to those activities for the social prevention of the appearance of these concepts. In the activities to create atheistic convictions, there has been less stress, in my opinion, on the role of the specific social environment in which the people live and of the improvements to the economic and social-political relations and the firm placement, as is mentioned in the Report to the 12th RCP Congress, "of all social affairs on the principles of socialist ethics and equity for the development of new human relations of respect, esteem and assistance between people, relations characteristic of socialist and communist society."

Similarly, we believe, in agreement with the opinions expressed in the article in ERA SOCIALISTA No 7/1982, that "requirements of an atheistic education must be based upon the understanding of religious phenomena," where a valuable contribution can be made by field sociological research. The sociological investigations carried out by the sociology department at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy and other educational and research institutes show, for example, the existence not only of gnoseological and psychological factors that facilitate the persistence of religion, but also of certain social factors (dysfunctionalities, errors, abuses, inequalities and so forth). In the process of creating and developing socialist society, all the circumstances favorable to the maintenance of religion were not automatically overcome and, for social research, this remains a still unresolved task in establishing the types of social situations that lead to maintaining religion among the different categories in the population.

The elaboration of strategies for atheistic education, as well as the evaluation of these activities, must also keep in mind, we believe, the cultural context in which the human subjects are placed. It has been found, for example, that within a relatively enclosed geographic and sociocultural space, where secular traditions and customs have been preserved, religious beliefs have also been preserved. In the rural environment, religious awareness and behaviors

are more frequently encountered than in the urban environment, and they are integrated into the traditional forms of the popular culture and, for that reason, are more difficult to dislocate. The village is still subjected to certain customs that have been instituted in true unwritten, but accepted norms. "It is not possible for us not to have a baptism," a non-religious woman from a village in Hateg tells us, "because we cannot be different from the rest." Despite this, in the rural environment in the system of social controls the role of the religious institution and cult members is a secondary one (even less for the neo-Protestant cults). The religious institution no longer represents, even in the village, a reference parameter except for a reduced number of behaviors, usually within the sphere of family life.

The demographic and socioprofessional characteristics of the population group that was investigated and associated with the presence or absence of religion show certain aspects that are much more important than a simple classification. The variation of religious interest as a function of sex is shown in a number of research efforts. A greater degree of religiousity among women (a valid relationship especially within the framework of the traditional cults) does not mean a certain "predisposition," but is especially explainable by virtue of the social status of women, many times still inferior (in degree of a lower level of training, professions inferior to those of men, lower levels of social activism), to which can be added the fact that in the case of women, at least in the rural environment, deviation from the generally accepted norms is more promptly punished. Agricultural workers, housewives and retired persons are categories much more predisposed towards religion. For older persons, religious behaviors show up that signify a stronger adhesion: participation in services, confessions, communion and so forth. We believe that this type of information can be indicators that should be taken into account in elaborating the methodology of atheistic education.

Sociological investigations can supply especially useful information regarding the motivation for religion. Certainly, the maintenance of religion by certain groups in the population is determined, usually, by a complex group of causes. In given social media and in given social situations, one can, however, identify a cause or a principal motivation. Our attention was caught in Hunedoara, Bacau and Suceava counties, especially in rural environments, by the commission of certain cult acts (participation in services, conforming to prescriptions and prohibitions caused by religious celebrations) by non-believers who invoked extra-religious reasons: respect for tradition, the influence of parents and friends, the belief that "there is nothing wrong in this" and so forth. Beyond the inconsistency of these behaviors, the fact also demonstrates a desacralization of certain aspects of the cult. The religious meaning transmitted by the cult members is not received, and the group "does not respond" to the religious message that is received. It is found, however, that in the case of the believers the authentically religious motivations are gradually disappearing. Tradition, the need to communicate and for social contacts, the need to go beyond certain difficulties in one's personal life and the

need for a moral life are the reasons most frequently invoked. All the cults suggest the equivalency between being moral and being religious, transforming morals into a basis for gatherings of believers. In the neo-Protestant Baptist cult in a rural locality in Hunedoara County, we found a relatively large percentage (more than one-third) of religious moral sermons. The themes follow the moral ideals. attitudes toward work, toward neighbors and toward the family and society. It is claimed and repeated that only the believer can have a high moral awareness. Anti-social deeds are selected from comments in the press and they stress ideas that the believers have moral superiority over other people. Similarly, in "song" and prayer books a significant amount is dedicated to moral subjects.

Field sociological research permits showing certain significant relationships between atheist or religious concepts, on one hand, and certain non-religious social attitudes and behaviors on the other hand. The development of the collective spirit and the rejection of individualist, non-committal attitudes are associated to a greater degree with non-religious persons than religious persons, despite the fact that the Christian religious ethic does not reject these values. Subjects that belonged to sects, for example, limit collectivism strictly to the religious group and in proselytizing actions, while in work groups or in their communities the usually cultivate social isolation and self-imposed ostracism.

The results of sociological research show, in the configuration of the systems of values of non-religious persons, the tendency to place certain values on a higher plane, values that represent in a concentrated form the virtues of socialism itself. Public activism, participation in economic, social and political decisions, exercise of democratic rights and freedoms and, in general, involvement in social-political affairs are achieved at a much higher level within the framework of the non-religious population.

The individual's participation in social and political affairs represents, in the final analysis, his degree of integration in society, upon which depends both his actional efficiency and the realization of his own personality. For that reason, it is necessary to carry out a permanent, intense, consistent and patient activity to root out from the awareness of the people the remains of the past and backwards concepts, mentalities, customs and traditions, and to cultivate a new attitude towards work, life and society.

Science, Atheism and Humanism

Dr Ion Batlan of IMF Bucharest

In the broad process of the materialist-scientific education of the masses, science has occupied and is occupying a priority place. By fulfilling cognitive functions through excellence, science represents a systematized grouping and a totality of knowledge crystalized in principles, laws and theories, with whose help this knowledge is presented and reconstructed in the most adequate way possible on a thinking level in an abstract and logical form. Among all the forms of knowledge, science offers the highest degree of objectivity in

the knowledge about man, society and nature. It is one of the "most powerful" factors, as J. Bernal notes, in the formation of the concepts about the world and the convictions and attitudes about the universe, and it gives power to man, increasing the degree of freedom for man. The growth of the role of science and the percentage of its value in the formation and development of social awareness is an expression of the spirit of contemporary civilization and especially socialist civilization.

In the context of the current requirements of education, the principal indicators of the efficiency of activities to spread scientific knowledge are the current relevancy and audience of these activities. Making sure these are objective requires a thorough mastery of the information, the ability to argue and persuade, the avoiding of any vulgarization or insipid scientific popularization and the elimination of outdated information and knowledge that no longer stirs the interest even among the environments previously considered below the cultural level.

This exigency requires the renunciation of the opinion according to which only the scientific disciplines, through themselves, unconditionally determine atheistic convictions. Many of the cultural institutions, even in the large cities, still justify their atheistic educational activities solely through actions to spread scientific knowledge. Certainly, by increasing its truth content, scientific arguments have priority in the broad educational process, but this is not sufficient. In order to satisfy the logical requirement to simultaneously be necessary and sufficient, scientific discourse must be taken to its atheistic consequences. It must not be left merely to the objectivist presentation of the newest data offered by the respective science, but rather to interpret this data from the perspective of the statute of man's existence and to attempt to respond to the serious, but constantly present questions in this data regarding his place and role in this world and the meaning of his life. In other words, scientific discourse must double as competent philosophical discourse. Even if we were to report only on the problem of the truth, this cannot be reduced to the value of the truth of knowledge, as science does, but it must include the problem of the nature of truth, its characteristics, the criteria for verification and so forth, which are basic problems in philosophy.

Therefore, on a practical level it is necessary to review that which is called "the ideological content" of scientific speeches and symposia and high school lessons or university lectures, especially in those scientific disciplines which still make concessions to objectivism.

The contemporary philosophy of religion, and in some cases non-Marxist philosophy (Ricoeur is an example), attempts to drill into the depths of the cultural sources of certain religious representations, even if inconsistent solutions are sometimes proposed. If we add to this the attempts of certain religions to modernize, to integrate into their system of ideas new data from science and to get involved in moral or political problems, causing disorder and confusion among the ranks of certain people, then we must understand the need for the educational process to be conceived as an integrating system

within whose structure there will also enter scientific elements from the history of world culture, the history of religions and ethics or esthetics, as well as the knowledge of the causes and characteristics of the contemporary religious phenomenon.

Thus conceived, the educational effort can have the planned efficiency, and can lead to secular, non-religious convictions by combining the scientific effort with other components in the culture.

From such a view it appears necessary, in my opinion, to also reconsider the means of conceiving atheism. The concept does not have to be reduced to its etymological meaning and atheistic education understood merely as a rational effort for demonstrating the non-existence of God. If we were to conceive of it only in this way, then we must consider as justified some of the ironies of the spiritualist thinkers who, seeing atheism merely as a negative concept, state that some of the people of our time can suddenly renounce such demonstrations without affecting them at all.

Atheism, as a theory that is asserted in the materialist-dialectical and historical concept about the world and life, must be conceived as an authentic humanism, and not just on a theoretical plane, but especially in its practical dimensions. As an expression of authentic humanism, atheism cannot be proved except by humanist attitudes on the practical plane and in interhuman relations. Increased attention and respect for all the people's problems, the creation of a climate of friendship and human solidarity in the work collectives and the proliferation of the true positive human model having a penetrating influence upon the members of the collective are established as premises for education in the humanist, atheist spirit. The consequence of the human model and its specific manifestations in the overall educational process are enormous since, as one thinker said, we will never be able to teach people only what we know or only what we want, but we will always be able to teach them by what we are and what we do.

If it were up to us to create a model human as required by the exigencies of our Party Program and the Code of the Norms and Principles of Socialist Ethics and Equity, we would create him not by calling upon the legendary figures of the Prometheus type, for example, as some would do who write on this subject, but as a synthesis integrating what mankind has given and is giving that is good on the plane of reality, and through concrete human models capable of existing and powerfully influencing under the conditions of the new socialist social relations that are favorable to affirming a multilaterally developed personality.

First of all, the current requirements of education call for a review of the statute of the educators along the lines of greater competency and a high responsibility, as well as an irreproachable moral-civic attitude.

## Secular Aspects in Folklore Traditions

Dr Alexandru Suciu of Brasov

The activities slated for materialist education are efficient only when they succeed in contributing to the creation of certain firm philosophical and scientific convictions and certain advanced attitudes and behaviors in all the workers, and in bringing about radical transformations in the manner of thinking and acting of all the members of society, in general, and those with mystical-religious mentalities and customs in particular.

The directions in which the secular and atheistic educators must exercise their influences are determined by the principal levels at which religion is manifested. Our research into the status of religion and atheism in Brasov Municipality led us to the finding the following three levels of the status of religion: the ideological level, which includes ideas, concepts and representations about the relations of the believer with the supernatural; the psychological level, which refers to morale and feelings expressed in affections, attitudes, religious beliefs and so forth; and the behavioral level, as expressed through actions, rituals and mystical-religious ceremonies.

These levels of structuring of the status of religion show that materialist-scientific education does not lie solely in making known the phenomena of nature and the causes that generate them, and not merely in transmitting scientific information.

Conceiving materialist-scientific educational activities merely through the theoretical level without taking into account the affective states and the practical behavior of people means dealing with this process in a unilateral manner, losing sight precisely of those components with deep roots in the people's awareness and lives. In referring to the complexities of the people's real, practical lives in relation to the theoretical facet, Petru Panzaru noted: "What impresses most people the most are: birth, love, and death, but birth, love and death not in general and of anyone, but of those who have entered the subtle and deep network of interpersonal relations, first of all of relatives, friendship, camaraderie and mankind."\*\*

The fact that sometimes educational authorities are not closely concerned for the psychological and behavioral facet of religion has negative implications upon the political-educational work for creating and developing the new man. This is so, as our research has also shown, since the religious institutes and the cult members place stress precisely on the affective facet of the human personality, especially within the framework of religious ceremonies, transforming them into powerful means for the religious training of individuals and social groups.

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\*\* Petru Panzaru, "The Human Condition From the Point of View of Daily Life," Albatros Publishing House, 1981, p 58.

Furthermore, specialized studies show that the main reason for religion is tradition. Let us merely refer to a more recent research project, and we will mention the conclusion that Petre Datculescu reaches after certain sociological and psychological investigations conducted over a number of years among the ranks of young people. He writes: "Manifestations of religion that are the most important ones among the ranks of young people embrace two distinct forms: intense religiousity of the type of a sect member and the tendencies towards religion and diffused mysticism as expressed, among other ways, by frequenting church ceremonies as an expression of a concession to the tradition of symbolic religious exacerbation of the significance of certain events in the life of the individual and the human microcollective."\*\*\*

These studies into the causes and motivations of religion reveal the fact that religious institutions and cults have always sought and are now seeking to change the secular significance of the most important events in the life of man, giving them a mystical-religious color.

The building of the new social order in our country and the creation of a modern and dynamic economy have also brought about a certain social mobility and a movement of the rural population into the urban environment. Significant groups of populations from rural areas have moved into the sphere of industrial jobs and services in the urban environment. Such a transfer of labor forces from the village to the city most of the time was not a transfer of traditions and folklore customs. Among the spiritual values of our people that have been created over its history, we could note the customs and traditions of a secular nature referring to the marriage ceremony, which, by virtue of its pomp, solemnity and importance, is most shining, happiest, enjoyable and memorable event in the people's life.

In its capacity as a ceremony, the wedding is the collective manifestation through with the act of marriage is achieved in public life, bringing together the most diverse folklore categories. Throughout the entire wedding, there is a harmonious blending of contrasting elements: comic and tragic, sublime and monumental. The sublime and the monumental are expressed by the dressing of the bride and the sewing of the flag, the tragic is especially expressed by the accepting of forgiveness and the song of the bride, and the wedding speeches, the playing of the chickens and the shouts are filled with humor.

Although the elements and moments of the wedding are different in importance, in scope and in the means of achieving them from one region to another, there nonetheless exist certain common or close aspects which led us to the finding that the folklore and customs in the wedding ceremony in our country contain a vast and rich treasure having an educational content available for all those who are interested in preparing and organizing certain secular presentations

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\*\*\* Petre Datculescu, "The Materialist-Scientific Education of Young People," Politica Publishing House, 1980, p 175.

with profound ethical values. For that reason, we feel that in the complex and long-term efforts to create the new man that has a materialist-dialectical concept about the world and a broad scientific and cultural horizon, we must make a rigorous distinction between folklore traditions and secular customs, on one hand, and traditions, customs and practices on a religious nature on the other hand. In this regard, it is necessary to combat the concessive and indifferent attitude towards the perpetuation (openly or disguised) of certain religious traditions, customs and practices by virtue of their identification with history and folklore traditions. At the same time, it is necessary to give increased attention to using the rich folklore customs and traditions referring to the important moments in the people's lives.

This means, in my opinion, that along with combating certain religious customs and practices, we must find some forms and means through which these folklore manifestations and secular customs can be used in authentic cultural-artistic spectacols so as to satisfy the need for ceremonies, a need transmitted through certain old and valuable traditions.

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#### LACK OF HARMONY BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE IN JOB TRAINING

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 10 20 May 82 pp 43-44

[Article by Dr Ion Dragan of Timisoara: "Disharmony Between Theory and Practice in School and Professional Directions"]

[Text] In the field of scholastic and professional directions, in recent years numerous works have been published in Romania. I have in mind the more than 25 professional monographs, as well as other studies, many of which were produced on the basis of concrete research, not to mention the articles that have appeared in different reviews, the symposia, meetings, reporting sessions and conferences organized on such problems.

Unfortunately, however, the achievements in the sphere of pedagogical practices and social practices regarding scholastic and professional directions are not up to these premises and are not theoretically substantiated. If we were to illustrate this statement with significant data, we would have to mention the number of failures each year in the admissions exams in the second stage in high school and in the departments or the places that go unfilled at certain types of high schools and departments (sections), which are filled through examinations that are repeated in the fall.

On the other hand, but in the same regard, there is significance in the shortage of manpower in some sectors of the economy (construction, agriculture, mining and so forth). If the scholastic and professional training directions would be carried out "according to the book," such unnatural phenomena would not have appeared.

What are some of the causes that have generated such a state of affairs that has produced many headaches and shortcomings?

In the natural order of things, I feel that a primary cause lies in the poor training of the authorities that carry out the scholastic and professional training directions, and first of all of the faculty cadres. Paradoxically, although there is a rich literature in this field, it is viewed by the faculty as a useless luxury. And, this is because they do not have a systematic and thorough training, right from the time of their university studies, in the field of scholastic and professional training directions. This training was then acquired through offices, laboratories and specialists, through the

educational process, through children's and youth organizations or through the process when the person was finally removed from his job. Such a labile statute cannot but have the consequences which are seen today.

One great shortcoming that causes harm to scholastic and professional training is the delays in the appearance, usually, of the brochures regarding the high school network and the training plans of the institutes of higher education. What training directions can be prepared by those involved (guidance counselors, parents and so forth) when they do not find out until April, May or sometimes even June which schools (high schools) and departments (sections) will be open in the coming school year? In such a situation, we can no longer talk about scholastic and professional training directions, with the school inspectorates being transformed, in an ad hoc manner, in June into dispatcher offices that assign without any criteria those students who are left without place to go in those schools that are filled up and send them to schools that are not filled up. And, thus - "Whether you want or you do not want, drink, Grigore, you are blessed," - the student arrives at a high school that neither he nor his parents wanted, that was not recommended to him by his counselor and for which he has neither an inclination nor the necessary aptitude. And, the number of such students is not at all insignificant. With such a "training direction," is it a surprise that many students "reconsider" either during the training or after its completion and take other "professional routes" than the ones for which they had been trained?

Similarly, the family creates great difficulties for the scholastic and professional training directions. In general, by not having an appropriate training in this field and being burdened by an acute and damaging subjectivism, parents, instead of supporting and helping the school (and the guidance counselors) in the orientation and guidance of the students, more often create stumbling blocks. The child's aptitudes and inclinations or the requirements of social life do not usually enter into the strategy worked out by the parents. Due to their authority, they thwart the professional orientation and guidance work that is carried out sometimes by the school according very realistic and scientific criteria.

I cannot conclude the list of difficulties that are created in this field to which I have referred without mentioning the enterprises that are supporting schools. In this regard, it seems significant to me to look at the discussion that I had with the director of a building skills high school after I informed him that in a questionnaire regarding scholastic and professional training directions that was circulated in his school over 40 percent of the students preferred professions other than that of a builder, with some of these professions not having the slightest connection with what was being taught in school (bartender, waiter, hairdresser, lawyer, professor of physical education). At this, the director answered "clearly:" "I am not at all surprised by such preferences since the enterprise that supports the school and which also provides material aid officially notified us that it cannot employ any graduates." A similar case was described to me by the director of an agro-industrial high

school, who also added: "Even when the specialized enterprises (the state agricultural enterprises or the agricultural production cooperatives) employ our graduates, they offer them positions for which it was not necessary to take the courses of a specialized high school."

Moving the practice of scholastic and professional training direction out of this impasse is possible and necessary. To this end, I want to point out several of the solutions that could bring about the necessary improvements. Logically and naturally it is necessary to eliminate the difficulties and shortcomings noted above. Thus, in order to have the proper training for the faculty members in this field, I feel that it is necessary to introduce a course in training planning for the teaching faculties. The laboratories and offices that are in universities could complete this course in seminars and practical sessions. The Ministry of Education and Training could similarly publish certain programs, methods and guides for scholastic and professional training directions for faculty members who carry out this activity (and for other persons). The work plan for obtaining grade I could be improved by having subjects on scholastic and professional training directions.

At the level of the school inspectorates, this problem should be given a priority place, systematically organizing conferences, symposia, scientific sessions and exchanges of experiences. In the schools, there should be an abandonment of the episodic and sporadic "attacking" of the problem regarding scholastic and professional directions (usually occurring in May and June) and a move to its inclusion in the system of instructional-educational work at all levels and in all classes (with the accent imposed by the stage or class in which it is carried out). The press, radio and television could create spots and systematic and permanent broadcasts that are dedicated to the orientation and guidance of school-age young people, with a precise audience - for parents, professors, students and children's and youth organizations.

Carried out in this manner, along a broad front and systematically conceived, actions for scholastic and professional training directions could become what is expected of it: one of the basic factors of rationalizing social affairs in our country and the principal means of social integration of the schools.

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